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Silvestre

UNIVERSAL PALÆOGRAPHY:

OR,

FAC-SIMILES OF WRITINGS

OF ALL NATIONS AND PERIODS,

COPIED FROM THE MOST CELEBRATED AND AUTHENTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES OF FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY, AND ENGLAND,

BY

M. J. B. SILVESTRE.

ACCOMPANIED BY

AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE TEXT AND INTRODUCTION,

BY CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC AND AIMÉ CHAMPOLLION, FILS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, AND EDITED, WITH CORRECTIONS AND NOTES,

BY

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KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

The work of M. Silvestre on Universal Palæography has acquired an European reputation, not only on account of the number, extent, and beauty of its Plates of Fac-similes, but (what is of far more importance) the scrupulous fidelity with which they are copied from the original manuscripts. In both these respects no other publication that has hitherto appeared can be said to be its equal, and it would doubtless have obtained a far wider circulation in the libraries of individuals, had not the high price at which it was originally brought out, necessarily occasioned its purchase to be limited.

The work was published in parts between the years 1839 and 1841, without regard, in the first instance, to arrangement as to languages, or chronological order; and hence some instances of tautology are accounted for in the text of the French editors, which might otherwise have been avoided, as well as some discrepancies between the final collocation of the Plates and the order contemplated by the

writers. In the present edition, it has been judged advisable not to interfere with this arrangement, but merely to point out in a note such instances as presented any manifest error.

To the Plates of M. Silvestre the most unqualified praise can be given, and it is only to be regretted that he did not personally visit the libraries of England as well as those of France, Rome, Vienna, and Munich, as by so doing he might have rendered the series of specimens of English writing equally full and complete as those of France, Italy, or Germany. This deficiency, however, is in some measure supplied by the works published in England by Shaw, Westwood, and Humphreys, all of which have contributed to diffuse a wider taste for palæography, and a more accurate knowledge of its various branches. To accomplish this desirable object more completely, an English edition of Silvestre seemed called for, in which the original Plates might be used, and retain all the advantages of their size, execution, and colouring, whilst the text by compression in an octavo form might be consulted with much greater convenience and at far less expense.

In order to render the English text on all accounts worthy of confidence, the Editor has not only scrupulously revised the translation word by word with the original, but has verified every statement and

reference in it to the utmost of his power, and in the notes at the foot of the page has added many corrections of inaccuracies which previously disfigured the work. A few omissions have also occasionally been made in the text itself, with a view to its improvement in such passages as were rendered obscure by the *verbiage* of the original. For the theory of the formation and dispersion of languages (embracing the history of mankind,) advanced in the Introduction, the French writers are, of course, solely responsible, but the Editor has ventured occasionally to soften expressions which might appear offensive to those who have formed different conclusions on such an important but difficult subject.

British Museum,
August, 1849.

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CCIV.	Modern Roman and Italic Writing. Psautier de Jesus and Offices, written by Nicolas Jarry. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 2299 *bis*, *Suppl. Fr.*; No. 710, *Suppl. Lat.*)	XVIITH
CCV.	——— Epistles for the festivals of the year, for the use of the chapel at Versailles. (*Ibid.*)	XVIIITH

§ 3. WRITING OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

CCVI.	Minuscule Romano-Visigothic Writing. Praises of the Virgin, by Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo, written A.D. 951. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 2855) ..	XTH
CCVII.	Diplomatic Writing of Spain. Charters of Alfonso VI. and Queen Urraka. (*Ibid.*)	XITH XIITH
CCVIII.	Gothic Writing of Spain. Cancionero of Johan Alphonso de Baena. (*Ibid.*, No. 1932)	XVTH
CCIX.	——— Cancionero, intitled *Canconer d'Amor*. (*Ibid.*, No. 7699)	XVITH
CCX.	Gothic Portuguese Writing. Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea, by Azurara. (*Ibid.*, No. 236, *Suppl. Fr.*)	XVTH
CCXI.	Spanish Writing of various kinds	XVITH

PART IV. LATIN WRITING OF MODERN EUROPE. NORTHERN DIVISION.

§ 1. ROMAN AND GOTHIC WRITING OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CCXII.—CCXIV.	Capital and Uncial Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Saxon Writing. Biblical Texts, from manuscripts preserved in the libraries of England	VITH—VIIITH
CCXV.	[See the entry of this Plate after Pl. CXXXV.]	
CCXVI.	Semi-Uncial and Minuscule Anglo-Saxon Writing. Homilies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 1771)	VIIITH to IXTH
CCXVII.	Franco-Saxon [Irish?] Minuscule Writing. Gallican Psalter of St. Ouen, in the Public Library, Rouen	VIITH or VIIITH [XTH?]
CCXVIII.	Anglo-Saxon Minuscule Writing. The Homilies of St. Augustine. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. n. 5. *d*)	VIIITH
CCXIX.	——— Commentaries of Tagius, Bishop of Barcelona, on the Sentences of St. Gregory. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 866, *Suppl. Lat.*)	IXTH
CCXX.	——— Fragments of St. Augustine and Bede, in the Public Library, Carlsruhe. (Nos. 36 and 83) ..	IXTH
CCXXI.	Hiberno-Saxon Minuscule Writing. The Latin Grammar of Priscian, in the Public Library, Carlsruhe. (No. 223)	IXTH

No. of Plate.		Century or Age.
CCXXII.	GERMANO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING. The Morals on Job, of Pope Gregory. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. n. 5. *a*)	IXTH
CCXXIII.	HIBERNO-SAXON WRITING. Commentaries of St. Jerome on Isaiah. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 880, *Suppl. Lat.*)	XTH
CCXXIV. CCXXV.	[See the entry of these Plates after Pl. CLXXI.]	
CCXXVI.	ANGLO-SAXON WRITING. Latin Gospels. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 693)	XTH [VIIITH ?]
CCXXVII.	——— The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York. (*Ibid.*, No. 138, *Suppl. Lat.*)	XTH
CCXXVIII.	——— The Benedictional of Abbot Æthelgar, in the Public Library, Rouen. (No. 27)	XTH
CCXXIX.	——— The Missal of Archbishop Robert, in the same library. (No. 34)	XITH
CCXXX.	ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC WRITING. Charters of William the Conqueror and Henry I. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XITH XIITH
CCXXXI.	GALLICAN AND ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING. The Psalter, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon. (*Ibid.*, No. 333, *Suppl. Lat.*)	XITH
CCXXXII.	MODERN GOTHIC WRITING OF ENGLAND. English translation of the *Inventorium Medicinæ* of Guy de Chauliac. (*Ibid.*, No. 7010)	XIVTH [XVTH ?]
CCXXXIII.	IRISH WRITING. Homilies and Lives of the Saints, in Irish. (*Ibid.*, No. 8175)	XVTH
	§ 2. ROMAN AND GOTHIC WRITING OF FLANDERS AND HOLLAND.	
CCXXXIV.	CURSIVE GOTHIC WRITING. Legend of St. Catherine, translated into Flemish by Jean Miélot. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH
CCXXXV.	[See the entry of this Plate after Pl. CCLXIII.]	
CCXXXVI.	MINUSCULE GOTHIC WRITING. Translation of the Old Testament in Flemish, written in 1419. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH
CCXXXVII.	——— Book of Hours of the Emperor Charles V., in the Impl. Libr., Vienna. (*Theol.* C. 995)	XVTH
CCXXXVIII.	——— Breviary of Charles V., in the same library. (*Theol.* C. 998)	XVITH
CCXXXIX.	The Apocalypse, translated into Flemish. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 165[26], *Suppl. Lat.*)	XVTH
	§ 3. ROMAN AND GOTHIC WRITING OF GERMANY.	
CCXL.	UNCIAL CAROLINE WRITING. Latin Gospels, written by Valerianus. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. II. 4. B)	VIITH
CCXLI.	GERMANO-ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING. Theotisc fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew. (Impl. Libr., Vienna)	VIIITH
CCXLII.	——— Latin and Theotisc Biblical Glossary, in the Public Library, Carlsruhe. (No. 86)	VIIITH
CCXLIII.	——— Fragments of a Sermon of St. Augustine, with a Theotisc Poem, which belonged to Louis of Germany. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. B. VI.)	IXTH

No. of Plate.		Century or Age.
CCXLIV.	GERMANO-ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING. Treatise of Isidore, in Latin and Theotisc. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 2326)	IXTH
CCXLV.	——— Treatise *De Inventione Crucis*, and Theotisc Prayer of Wessobrunn. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. III. 4. M.)	IXTH
CCXLVI.	CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING. Otfrid's Theotisc Paraphrase of the Gospels. (Impl. Libr., Vienna, No. 345)	IXTH
CCXLVII.	——— The *Heliand*, a Harmony of the Gospels, in Theotisc verse. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. III. 4. *a*)	IXTH
CCXLVIII.	——— Otfrid's Theotisc Paraphrase of the Gospels. (*Ibid.*, Cim. 4. *d*)	XITH
CCXLIX.	——— Latin Evangeliarium, written by St. Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg. (*Ibid.*, Cim. VI. 2. *a*) ..	XTH
CCL.	——— Letters of St. Boniface, and enigmatical writing. (Impl. Libr., Vienna, No. 259)	XTH
CCLI.	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE CAROLINE WRITING. Evangeliarium of the Church of St. Nicholas. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cim. C. 3)	XITH
CCLII.	GERMANO-ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING. Missal of the Emperor Henry II. (*Ibid.*, Cim. B. 7) ..	XITH
CCLIII.	MINUSCULE CAPETIAN WRITING. Evangeliarium of the monastery of Nieder-Altach. (*Ibid.*)	XITH
CCLIV.	——— Willeram's Latin and Theotisc Paraphrase of the Song of Songs. (*Ibid.*, Cim. III. 4. *i*)	XITH
CCLV.	UNCIAL AND CAPETIAN WRITING. Treatise of St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*. (Impl. Libr., Vienna, No. 3256)	XIITH
CCLVI.	MINUSCULE ROMAN WRITING. Theological Treatise on the four Cardinal Virtues. (*Ibid.*, No. 523) ..	XIITH
CCLVII.	MINUSCULE CAPETIAN WRITING. Latin Gospels of the monk Liutold. (*Ibid.*, No. 3307)	XIITH
CCLVIII.	MINUSCULE LUDOVICIAN WRITING. Romance of Tristan, in German verse. (Roy. Libr., Munich, Cod. Germ. 50)	XIIITH
CCLIX.	GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING. Poems of the Minnesingers. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 7266)	XIVTH
CCLX.	——— Ancient German Poems. (Impl. Libr., Vienna, No. 428)	XIVTH [XIIITH?]
CCLXI.	——— German Chronicle of Jans Ennichel. (*Ibid.*, No. 2733)	XIVTH
CCLXII.	——— Romance of Lancelot, in German verse. (*Ibid.*, Cod. Germ., No. 9)	XIVTH [XIIITH?]
CCLXIII.	——— Latin Gospels, written in gold by John of Oppaw, in 1368. (*Ibid.*, No. 982)	XIVTH
[CCXXXV.	——— The Life of St. Catherine of Sienna, in German. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH]
CCLXIV.	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE GOTHIC WRITING. Latin Evangeliarium of the Abbey of Weihenstephan, written in 1462. (Roy. Libr., Munich, No. 39) ..	XVTH
CCLXV.	——— Latin Lectionarium, in the Public Library, Rouen	XVTH
CCLXVI.	GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING. Prayer Book, printed	

No. of Plate.		Century or Age.
	on vellum, with designs drawn by Albert Durer. (Roy. Libr., Munich)	XVITH
CCLXVII.	Gothic Minuscule Writing. Kaiser-Recht, or Imperial Laws of Westphalia. (*Ibid.*, Cod. Germ. 26)	XVITH
CCLXVIII.	Large Gothic Minuscule Writing. From a manuscript in the Impl. Library, Vienna	XVITH
CCLXIX.	Modern Roman Writing. Book of Hours of the Margrave William of Baden, painted by Frederic Brentel, in 1647. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 705, *Suppl. Lat.*)	XVIITH

§ 4. ROMAN WRITING OF HUNGARY AND SCANDINAVIA.

CCLXX.	Minuscule Writing of Hungary. Treatise intitled *Sermo super Sepulchrum*, in the National Museum of Pesth	XIITH [XIIITH?]
CCLXXI.	Cursive and Capital Gothic Writing. Portion of the Bible, in Hungarian. (Impl. Libr., Vienna, No. 3458)	XIVTH [XVTH?]
CCLXXII.	Gothic Minuscule Writing. The Four Gospels, in Hungarian, written in 1466. (Roy. Libr., Munich, No. 116)	XVTH
CCLXXIII.	Scandinavian Writing. Runic alphabets. (*Ibid.*)	IXTH
CCLXXIV.	Mæso-Gothic Writing of Ulphilas. Commentary on the Gospels, from a palimpsest in the Vatican. (No. 5750)	VITH
CCLXXV. CCLXXVI.	Icelandic Writing. Code of Icelandic Laws of Magnus II. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH XVITH

§ 5. WRITING OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS, DERIVED FROM THE GREEK.

CCLXXVII.	Cyrillian Writing. Historical Tracts and Lives of the Fathers. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 3537)	XITH [XIIITH?]
CCLXXVIII.	——— Psalter written in the reign of Assan, king of Bulgaria, preserved in the monastery of S. Salvatore, at Bologna	XIITH
CCLXXIX.	——— New Testament (?) in the Impl. Libr., Vienna	XIITH or XIIITH
CCLXXX.	——— Lectionarium in the Vatican Library (No. 4) [See also the Slavonic writing in Plate LXXXV.]	XIIITH
CCLXXXI. CCLXXXII.	Cyrillian and Square Glagolitic Writing. Evangelistarium in the Communal Library of Rheims, called the *Texte du Sacre*	XIVTH
CCLXXXIII.	Cyrillian Writing. Missal and Antiphonarium of the Russian Church. (Bibl. Vat., No. 14(?), and Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH XVITH
CCLXXXIV.	——— The Four Gospels, in the Impl. Libr., Vienna. (No. 356)	XVITH
CCLXXXV.	——— The Four Gospels. (Bibl. R., Paris, No. 3)	XVITH
CCLXXXVI.	——— The second portion of the New Testament. (Impl. Libr., Vienna)	XVIITH

No. of Plate.		Century or Age.
CCLXXXVII.	Circular Glagolitic Writing. Evangelistarium in the Vatican Library. (No. 3)	XITH
CCLXXXVIII.	Square Glagolitic Writing. Missal written in Croatia, in 1368. (Impl. Libr., Vienna)	XIVTH
CCLXXXIX.	——— Liturgical manuscript. (Bibl. R., Paris) ..	XIVTH
CCXC.	Cyrillian Writing. Gospel Lessons, in the collection of M. Kopitar	XIVTH
CCXCI.	Slavonic-Bulgarian Writing. Chronicle of Manasses, translated into the Bulgarian language. (Bibl. Vat. No. 2)	XIVTH
CCXCII.	Moldavian Writing. Document written in 1610. (Impl. Libr., Vienna)	XVIITH
CCXCIII.	Cursive Russian Writing. Act of the government of Kamschatka, written on bark. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVIIITH

PART V. CONVENTIONAL WRITINGS OF THE NEW WORLD.

CCXCIV. CCXCV.	Mexican Paintings and Writing. Mythological and astrological subjects and public documents. (Bibl. R., Paris)	XVTH XVITH
CCXCVI.	Quipos of the Peruvians. Specimen of a modern invention, to answer the same purpose	XVIIITH

UNIVERSAL PALÆOGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

Writing, or the art of exhibiting and fixing the *thought* by means of *visible signs*, is the offspring of a civilization already advanced beyond the state of infancy, with which its growth has been proportionate; and its successive advances to perfection embrace the entire range between the rude drawing of the *figure* of a man, a horse, or a tree, and the delicate tracings of tachygraphy, which reproduce to the eye and mind the *sounds* of the thousands of *names*, by which these same objects are designated in the various languages of the world.

Thus, the history of the origin of writing is intimately connected with that of the earliest human institutions, and the facts of their respective annals, in their primitive state, notwithstanding their diversity, are nearly synchronous;—we cannot, in truth, imagine even a slight degree of civilization, unaccompanied by an attempt at writing. The antiquities of the one will consequently illustrate the other; but in searching for evidences derived either from tradition or monuments, where can we find a guide capable of directing our steps without error towards these sources so attentively explored, so often discovered by vaunting systematists, but which nevertheless will probably long remain an enigma, as well as the solution of the question, Where and when did civilization commence?

In the investigation of this almost idle question, so absolutely defined are its limits, and so impenetrable is the obscurity which envelops the subject, that credulity and criticism proceed in opposite directions. The former, in its religious quietude, accepts knowledge as it finds it. The latter, full of doubts and curiosity, rakes up the ashes of the earliest nations of the earth, and subjects to its crucible the often disfigured traditions of the past, but more frequently those monumental records, which by their authenticity serve to connect together the links of time, and reconstruct the genealogies of nations or ideas; and by succes-

sively exploring paths in various directions, all equally marked out by the works of man, it at length arrives at so many different isolated points, without any apparent mutual connexion, each of which appears in itself to be a commencement, and from their diversity so many distinct sources of civilization. The problem, therefore, instead of being resolved, becomes more complicated by such an inquiry.

There is, indeed, a more commodious sort of knowledge adapted to such minds as are only moderately inclined to search after the absolute truths of the history of ancient times. One man, the chosen of God, is considered as the progenitor of all the human race, and on him the Creator heaped his benefits, and imparted to him all that he had need to know in his mortal and fallen state; and in the history of this man is discovered the head of all the peoples of earth, the founder of all sciences, and the inventor of every useful art; in him originated all human affairs (thus reducing to a common source all mankind, living and dead), all the necessary regulations of social life, and the most practical methods for their development, namely, morals and laws, language and writing. For many centuries modern nations have received or known no other annals than these.

Time, however, has at length disinterred and brought to light some of the hidden elements of its own history, and caused these notions to change. These new ideas have led some minds to the belief, that there were distinct races of white men, black men, and yellow men; that lands existed unknown to the supposed father of the human race, his contemporaries and descendants; peoples, which appear more ancient than him; institutions, concerning which his history is silent; systems of social ideas of which he had no knowledge, and religious systems different from his own;—and all these circumstances connected together in their results, have thrown some doubts on the unity of the human type, both as regards mankind and human affairs, so long accredited in modern times. From these doubts have sprung some useful truths and new facts, which have an intimate connexion with the subject before us.

If, indeed, it be ascertained that human civilization originated in various sources, and at epochs not contemporaneous, and that it manifested itself in different regions wide apart from, rather than adjacent to, each other; and that, like the great rivers of the earth, it has distributed itself in various currents over the globe, bearing with it fertility and life; it will necessarily follow that each of these sources of the great blessing of Providence, in

reserving to man alone the benefits of social intelligence, must be separately traced.

These historical considerations, thus generalized, will render our task less difficult; for wherever civilization was first planted and flourished, there we necessarily shall find *writing*. The history of its invention becomes therefore a simple chronological question, the solution of which must precede the exposition and philosophical examination of its various systems of signs.

The oldest pages of the human annals are filled with the history of mighty nations, and these are probably only the fragments of still more ancient histories, which can never be supplied by the most ingenious conjectures, since real knowledge rests solely on the authority of facts. In this inquiry, therefore, the historical critic will attentively examine the two kinds of documents which present themselves to his investigation,—namely, first, the annals written to record the facts of past times; and secondly, the monuments contemporary with the facts themselves. In the former may too often be found the spirit of system, or the effects of patriotic credulity, whilst the latter possess an all-imposing authority; facts may be accommodated to circumstances, but they cannot be absolutely false, unless the monuments are so likewise.

We shall be guided by similar rules of discernment in discussing the subject of the present remarks; not forgetting that science, as well as light and heat, have come to us from the East, and without their common and sympathetic influence there would be no perfect civilization,—ignorance and cold being synonymous with barbarism.

In directing our view, then, towards this, the original country of mankind, our attention is arrested by the striking memorials with which it abounds of several powerful nations, now for the most part extinct,—those of China, Hindostan, Bactria, Persia, Babylon, Syria, and Egypt, all of which became civilized at different epochs.

Of these nations, India was probably the earliest to arrive at a state of civilization, at least amongst the countries of Eastern Asia. Enlightened, rich, and triumphant, she invented at the earliest period those arts and ideas which subsequently were transplanted to Europe by the intervention of the Persians and Greeks; and her universal influence is still manifested by the actual state of the majority of the languages both in Asia and in the Western world, in the intimate affinity of their structure with the ancient Sanscrit of India. The temples of Jaggernaut and Elephanta, the pagodas of Mahabalipuram and Chalembaram,

yet remain, with many other not less wonderful edifices, perfect marvels of art. The names of their founders have been lost in antiquity, for we find no dates on the monuments of India; everything exists there from a time immemorial, the origin of which is entirely forgotten; and of their writing (notwithstanding the diversity in its signs, and the antique inscriptions on the mountains of Guzerat and the column of Delhi,) we only possess traces in its secondary state, the alphabetic system.

China, in a more northerly part of Asia, has remained contented with its primitive efforts, and, either from design or the national indolence of the people, has been satisfied with little. At however remote a period we fix the earliest ascertained dates of its history, we shall find the commencement resembling its actual state; the writing having always consisted of the same figurative system, which is the unique source of all its combinations. Whether we refer these dates, in fact, to the reign of Fo-Hi, about the year 3468 before the Christian era, or admit the astronomical observations more recent by several centuries, or do not ascend higher than the reign of Yaou, which commenced in 2357 A.C., we cannot carry back the introduction of writing among the Chinese before the first of these periods, since it is to Fo-Hi that their annals attribute the invention of some signs for writing, namely, those of the eight *kua*. In regard to the era of the Emperor Yaou, less doubt exists; since a learned missionary, Père Gaubil, has drawn up the following account of the state of knowledge in his reign:—"It is certain, that in the time of Yaou China was well populated, and inhabitants existed even in the islands of the eastern sea. The art of poetry was known to the people, and colleges were founded in the reign of Shun (the successor of Yaou); they knew how to calculate by means of the stars, the solstices, and equinoxes; they possessed an annual period, consisting of 365 days and a quarter, which they knew how to divide into twelve lunar months, and by means of intercalations to make it equal to a solar year; they were accustomed to observe the heavens; they had manufactures in copper, iron, varnish, and silk stuffs; and they knew how to construct barks, of size sufficient to navigate to their isles of the eastern ocean. All this is proved by the first part of the book *Shoo-king*, composed in the reigns of Yaou and Shun; and it follows of course, that we must admit the existence of the Chinese people before that period." The advancement of Chinese civilization to this point was necessarily forwarded by the use of writing.

Iran or Persia, to the east of India, was in the most ancient

times governed by a dynasty of Hindu kings, established at Mahabad, in Media. From this historical fact we can comprehend why the Zend language, the mother of all the Persian idioms, is itself only the daughter of the Sanscrit, the sacred language of India. This Hindu dynasty, however, belongs to the most obscure period of Persian history, yet its existence is fully proved; and it was only on the expulsion of this Mahabadian race that the long anarchy succeeded, which lasted until the voice of the people of Iran proclaimed Kaïoumorz the chief of the new dynasty of Iranian origin, that of the Pishdadians, which became the common source of the two subsequent national dynasties, the Kayanides and Sassanides. The commencement of the reign of Kaïoumorz is carried back to about the year 3000 A.C.; and it is to this sovereign that the foundation of the splendid city of Istakar (the Persepolis of the Greeks) is attributed. The still existing ruins of his immense palace attest the power of the Iranian empire. Trained in the school of the Hindus, Iran probably remained faithful to their precepts and examples. On the palace of Istakar (attributed to the times of Kaïoumorz or Djem-Schid), and on the ancient royal sepulchres excavated near this palace, there has only been found, as in India, an alphabetic system of writing, of which the signs are called cuneiform; and if the extreme perfection of the art of graphic signs existed in Persia in the time of Kaïoumorz, or even ten centuries later, we may at once conclude that it was both known and practised by the Hindus at the same epochs.

Babylon and Nineveh for a long period outshone in splendor the other cities of the empire of Assyria. Their origin is buried with the other secrets of ancient times; their priests, named Chaldæans, (a name given improperly to the entire Assyrian nation, and to the country itself,) have left us no information on this subject in their annals. Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, shine with a vague light in these nebulous regions. Undoubted facts, however, prove the influence exercised by the Arabian Hamyarites on the condition of the Assyrian or Chaldæan language, which, as well as the population itself, is essentially Arabic, both in its rules and words. The geographical position of this empire shews it to have been exposed to all the ill effects of a bad neighbourhood, being placed in the route of all the conquerors who issued from Asia, and successively occupied and governed by the most fortunate. Persia also introduced into it both her Indian traditions and peculiar customs. We are no longer surprised, therefore, to discover on the monuments of Babylon the writing of Persepolis

in its alphabetical or secondary state, which leaves us still in ignorance whether Assyria invented a system of writing, and if so, what were its principles. A single truth alone remains, that the Chaldæan language, Arabian in its origin, was written during a known period of history, with an alphabet of Iranian or Persian origin. This fact is more certain than the tradition relative to the confusion of tongues, which took place in the temple of Baal, (or Lord,) the ruins of which still exist in the eastern part of Babylon. Thus, the written monuments contemporary with Queen Semiramis, (who only succeeded to the throne after many royal Assyrian conquerors,) and anterior by more than two thousand years to the commencement of the Christian era, are contemporary also with the monuments of Persepolis, and with those ancient astronomical observations which mount back 2300 years before our era, the list of which was sent from Babylon by Callisthenes to Aristotle; and these remarkable circumstances enable us to recognize, in the unavoidable result of the friendly or inimical relations, mediate or indirect, between the three great contiguous nations of the East,—India, Persia, and Assyria,—the simultaneous existence of the same system of writing, namely, a secondary system, brought to perfection,—that is, the alphabetical system; without any tradition of an anterior system, or of primitive invention.

Syria was entirely Arabian, and although divided into isolated populations or states, it still retained the general characters of its own civilization, as well as that of the Arabian peninsula. Compressed, as it were, between Assyria and Egypt, it was often traversed by those conquerors who started from the most opposite points, and who, influenced by reciprocal feelings of revenge, bent their steps from east to west, or from west to east, between the Nile and the Indus. The commercial activity of the Phœnicians introduced into Syria, by means of the Persian Gulf, the novel productions of Egypt and Asia Minor, of the Red Sea and the Euxine, of the Euphrates and Tigris, and of Persia and India. In their perpetual voyages, both by sea and land, how is it possible that the Phœnician industry of Tyre and Sidon would not learn, or rather divine, the invention of writing, as soon as it made its appearance in any of the coasts habitually resorted to? Indefatigable agents of civilization, although wholly occupied with the lucre of their traffic, the Phœnicians might well pass for the inventors of writing in those countries where they first made it known. Their own written monuments are executed with alphabetical signs, which manifestly proves that they only knew a

system of writing in its secondary state; nor did they communicate it in any other form. The Hebrews, another branch of the great Arabian family, also employed writing; and their annals attribute the knowledge of this art to Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, who lived in the nineteenth century before the Christian era; but these annals were written by Moses three centuries later, himself brought up in the colleges of Egypt, where the usage of writing had then existed from time immemorial. The Hebrews, like the Phœnicians, and like the other tribes scattered over Syria, can only, therefore, obtain a place in the history of writing in its secondary state, in which the *signs of sounds* have become substituted for *figurative* or *symbolical expressions*. The most ancient original monuments of the Hebrews, moreover, do not reach earlier, in regard to date, than the first ages of Christianity.

In Egypt the evidences of an historical period meet us at every step, and original monuments of incontestible authenticity cover both banks of the Nile. The works there of the kings of the eighteenth national dynasty, the first of which occupied the throne 1822 years before the Christian era, are numerous, magnificent, and covered with historical or religious inscriptions. Those of the earlier kings rarely occur; a dynasty of foreign barbarians, the shepherd-kings, Jews or Scythians, having ravaged Egypt during the preceding 260 years. But the active researches of modern times frequently exhume fresh historical documents, which stand forth like luminous points in the series of centuries anterior to the epoch of the shepherd-kings. In the demolished edifices of the eighteenth dynasty, materials are often found used for building which are the remains of those of the twelfth, with the names of some of their kings. Moreover, the soil of Memphis has not yet been explored, but the recent excavation of the pyramids—the marvels of the Old World—has brought to light and extended to unexpected limits the historical monumental facts upon which the annals of Egypt will firmly rest. In the year 1837, the third pyramid (the smallest of the three) was penetrated,* and in the central hall was discovered a sarcophagus, which had been violated in ancient times, its lid broken, and the mummy which it contained unrolled, and lying in morsels upon the floor, mingled with pieces of a sycamore coffin, portions of which were preserved, carried to England, and deposited in the British Museum. On this coffin is to be read, in hieroglyphic characters skilfully engraved, the name of the personage for whom the pyramid was

* By Colonel Howard Vyse. See his account of *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in* 1837, vol. ii. pp. 83—86, 8vo. 1840.—Ed.

the place of sepulture, and the name is that of the king Mencheres, mentioned by Manetho and Eratosthenes as one of the kings of the fourth dynasty. Other facts, not less certain, may be added to this. In the largest pyramid have been found, painted in large, rude, hieroglyphic characters, the often repeated name of another king, Suphis, the predecessor of Mencheres. These documents extend back more than 4000 years before the vulgar era; they are written in a perfect system of signs, in which the three kinds of forms, figurative, symbolic, and phonetic, are regularly combined, in the same manner as they are found in the Egyptian inscriptions of the times of Sesostris, Psammetichus, Alexander the Great, Augustus, and the Antonines; constituting the perfected graphic system of Egypt, and exhibiting no trace of the long and laborious attempts which must have preceded this state of perfection. No other monument in the world, among any people, exists to show the public usage of writing at so remote a period.

The question relative to the invention of this art appears to receive from the preceding summary of the traditions and monuments of the most celebrated of the primitive Eastern nations, various facts which tend to its satisfactory solution.

It is to the uninterrupted researches and perseverance of the moderns that we must look for such a result, if it be ever realized, since the ancients do not appear to have occupied themselves with this problem, notwithstanding its great importance. The European nations which were the immediate inheritors of the customs of the East, did not trouble themselves with its history or antiquities. They stripped it of its riches, without caring to learn by what prodigious efforts of time and genius it was raised from its native barbarism to the splendor of a social state, founded upon morality and the arts. Hence the infinite and vague diversity of the conjectures current among the learned Greeks and Romans, relative to the invention of writing, is not surprising.

If we consult the most trustworthy of these writers, those who to some positive knowledge of things added a spirit of research and criticism, (and such are but few in number,) they leave us in a complete state of doubt in reference to this remarkable point of social history, which can only be cleared up by an attentive examination, in the spirit of modern science, and by facts accumulated in the course of ages; an examination which will, at least, contribute to free the inquiry from a mass of vague and idle suppositions.

This profound question, which now occupies so much of the attention of the scholars of Europe, thanks to the researches of modern travellers in the sepulchres of ancient nations, does not

appear to have entered into the imagination of the historians, philosophers, and critics of classical antiquity; nor did they suspect the existence of the genealogy and descent of nations, in the community or affiliation of languages and writing. The Greeks after the time of Alexander, and the Romans subsequent to the time of M. Æmilius Lepidus, but more especially after the time of Cæsar and Octavius, had conquered Egypt, and reduced it to a province; but, if we except Herodotus, what have they imparted to us of the spirit and origin of the national institutions of that country, or of India, Persia, Assyria, and the neighbouring regions? —institutions, nevertheless, so full of interest, so remarkable in comparison with those of Greece and the Empire, and so capable, as it would seem, of attracting attention by their antique novelty. All that they tell us in regard to the invention of writing, amounts merely to this, that such or such a nation asserted that they were the inventors of letters; and without the deep studies of modern philosophy, and a knowledge of the original monuments of ancient nations, the inquiry into this important historical question would not have advanced a single step since the discourse of Plato was written.

This illustrious philosopher, gifted with a rich and productive genius, and an indefatigable observer of man and society, who had himself visited Egypt, thus speaks, in his *Phædrus*, by the mouth of Socrates:—"I have heard, that about Naucratis, in Egypt, there was one of their ancient gods, to whom a bird was sacred, which they call Ibis; but the name of the dæmon himself was Theuth. According to tradition, this god first discovered numbers, and the arts of reckoning, geometry, and astronomy, the games of chess and hazard*, and likewise LETTERS. But Thamus was at that time king of all Egypt, and resided in that great city of Upper Egypt, which the Greeks call Egyptian Thebes, but the god himself they denominate Ammon. Theuth, therefore, departing to Thamus, shewed him his arts, and told him that he ought to distribute them amongst the other Egyptians. But Thamus asked him concerning the utility of each; and upon his informing him, he approved what appeared to him to be well said, but blamed that which had a contrary aspect. But Theuth is reported to have fully unfolded to Thamus many particulars respecting each art, which it would be too prolix to mention. But when they came to discourse upon LETTERS, — 'This discipline, O king,' says Theuth, 'will render the Egyptians wiser, and even increase their powers of memory; for this invention is the medicine of

* ἔτι δὲ πεττείας τε καὶ κυβείας—better if translated "*draughts* and dice."—ED.

memory and wisdom.' To this Thamus replied, 'O, most artificial Theuth! One person is more adapted to artificial operations, but another to judging what detriment or advantage will arise from the use of these productions of art; and now you, who are the father of letters, through the benevolence of your disposition, have affirmed just the contrary of what letters are able to effect. For these, through the negligence of recollection, will produce oblivion in the soul of the learner; because, through trusting to the external and foreign marks of writing, they will not exercise the internal powers of recollection. So that you have not discovered the medicine of memory, but of admonition. You will likewise deliver to your disciples an opinion of wisdom, and not truth. For in consequence of having many readers without the instruction of a master, the multitude will appear to be knowing in many things of which they are at the same time ignorant, and will become troublesome associates in consequence of possessing an opinion of wisdom, instead of wisdom itself.*"

It is to the same Egyptian divinity that the same Greek writer attributes an improvement in writing, which nearly approaches to its invention.—"Whoever it was," he adds, "whether some god, or some divine man, (the Egyptian reports say that his name was Theuth,) who first contemplated the infinite nature of the human voice, he observed, that amongst the infinity of the sounds it uttered, the vowel sounds were more than one—they were many. Again, other utterances he observed, which were not indeed vowels, but partook, however, of some kind of vocal sound; and that of those also there was a certain number. A third sort of letters also he set apart, those which are now called mutes by us. After this, he distinguished every one of these letters which are without any vocal sound, whether perfect or imperfect; the vowels also, and those of middle sort, every one of them he distinguished in the same manner; and when he had discovered how many letters there were of each sort, to every one, and to all of them together, he gave the name of element. But perceiving that none of us could understand any of them by itself alone, without learning them all, he considered that this connection or common bond between them, was one, and that all these letters made in a manner but one thing; and as he perceived that there was one art in all these, he called it, from its subject matter, the art of letters.†"

* *Platonis Opera, Marsilio Ficino interprete.* Francof. 1602, fol., p. 1240 [Taylor's translation, vol. iii. p. 364.—Ed.]

† *Ibid.* Philebus, p. 374. [Taylor's translation, vol. iv. p 484.—Ed.]

Diodorus Siculus, who did not neglect the statements of his predecessors, repeats nearly the same story respecting the Egyptian god Thoth, or Theuth. He also narrates the following tradition on this subject, current on the banks of the Nile:—"The Egyptians say that it was this Hermes (*Thoth*, in Egyptian) who first fixed the precise articulation of the common language, and who gave distinct names to a great number of objects, previously unnamed; who discovered the art of tracing letters, and regulated the worship of the gods, and sacrifices.*"

In the works of several other Greek writers we meet only with passing indications, which add nothing positive to the vague statements already given, which are, however, favorable in general to Egyptian science.

Among the Latin writers, Lucan has left two well known verses. He was nearly contemporary with Diodorus Siculus, from whom he differs in his statement as to the origin of writing. According to the common opinion, it is to the Phœnicians that Lucan attributed the invention, but he expresses himself on the subject with a reserve which proves that he did not fully credit the opinion. His words are:—

Phœnices primi, *famæ si creditur*, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

"The Phœnicians, *according to common report*, were the first who ventured to figure and fix by rude signs the sounds of speech."

His subsequent words prove, however, that the sense which has been generally affixed to these two lines is far less decisive than has been supposed, since he immediately adds,—

Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat; et saxis tantum volucresque feræque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

"At that time Memphis had not yet discovered how to weave the papyrus-rushes of its flood; the images of animals, quadrupeds, and birds, alone served to engrave on stone the mysteries of language."

These five lines, therefore, taken consecutively, simply indicate that the Phœnicians first attempted to write the sounds of words, and that at that period the Egyptians still wrote by means of figures only, engraved on stone; in other words, when the Phœnicians endeavoured to write with *letters*, the Egyptians only wrote with *figures*. Lucan, consequently, must be understood to mean that, according to report, the Phœnicians first invented an *alphabe-*

* Diod. Sic., lib. i. p. i. c. 76.

tical writing, whilst, at the same epoch, the Egyptians employed a *figured writing*; so that this author must be placed in the number of those who attribute the use of writing to the Egyptians from the earliest times, for their system of figured signs was really as much a writing, as the most simple alphabet.

We must, moreover, observe, that this poet-historian does not express himself correctly relative to the ancient usage of Egypt, in stating that at the period of the supposed invention of alphabetical signs by the Phœnicians, the Egyptians were not acquainted with the method of obtaining leaves of papyrus from the reeds of the Nile for the use of writing, since Egyptian texts exist written upon rolls of papyrus of the eighteenth century before the Christian era; and it is certain that the figure of such rolls, fastened by a ribbon, is employed as a figurative sign in the most ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Were the Phœnicians at that time civilized? Had they then invented the alphabetic signs of writing? We will leave the solution of this difficulty to the future commentators of the *Pharsalia*.

Another later writer, Pliny the Elder, who undertook, in his own manner, to write a *History of Nature*, comprising a general account of the heaven and earth, of gods and men, of laws and customs, of languages and arts, (and yet he has been generally called Pliny the Naturalist, and the Buffon of antiquity,) has related also certain opinions relative to the invention of writing, and added to them his own, in the following terms:—"I have always believed that letters had an Assyrian origin; but some writers, as Gellius, affirm that they were invented in Egypt by Mercury (Thoth), and others that they were invented by Syrians; that Cadmus brought with him sixteen letters from Phœnicia into Greece, to which Palamedes added four others during the Trojan war. According to Anticlides, letters were invented in Egypt by a certain Menos (Menes), fifteen years before Phoroneus, the most ancient king of Greece; and he endeavours to prove this by monuments. On the other hand, Epigenes, an author of great merit, assures us that among the Babylonians exist astronomical observations, which reach back a period of 720,000 years, engraven on burnt bricks. Berosus and Critodemus, who give the lowest amount of duration to these observations, carry them back 490,000 years; whence it will appear that letters are of the highest antiquity. The Pelasgi carried them into Latium.*"

In this passage it will be seen that the Egyptian pretensions still predominate. Anticlides attributes the invention of writing

* *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii. cap. 56.

to Menes, the first king of Egypt, who caused the royalty of the sacerdotal caste to pass into the military caste. Gellius repeats the name of Thoth. Two considerations, however, oppose these pretensions; first, the astronomical observations made at Babylon thousands of years before Thoth and Menes; and secondly, the tradition that the Assyrians really invented letters, which was evidently the opinion of Pliny.

Must we, therefore, conclude from these passages that the idea of the invention of writing by several nations, as they separately attained a degree of perfect civilization, was adopted by the ancients? We can scarcely assert this; yet the facts contained in their writings would seem to confirm it, and will explain the diversity in their opinions. The tradition relative to the Babylonian observations infers also the usage of writing in these countries; the ancient classical writers, with their philosophical travellers, could not but have possessed some knowledge of the antiquities of the nations of the East, and of the marvels of their useful and luxurious arts; but this knowledge was vague, and but of little interest to them. Greece thought there was nothing more to learn, and Rome did not even wish it; her short sword sufficed for her highest ambition. The Ionic Greeks are unquestionably represented in costume, physiognomy, and name on the Egyptian monuments of the fifteenth century before Christ; but the Greeks scarcely speak of Egypt before the days of Herodotus. Homer tells only fables concerning them, and neither Greeks nor Romans shewed the least desire to investigate the annals of the people who had taught them how to live, by communicating to them the precepts of social life.

Another Latin writer, of equal weight and fame, Tacitus, has collected and transmitted to us the traditions of his period with that precision of expression and skilful arrangement of his words which pre-eminently characterize his writings. With reference to the additions which the Emperor Claudius wished to make to the Latin alphabet, this writer observes:—"The Egyptians were the first to express thought by the figures of animals, and the most ancient monuments of human intelligence are engraved upon stone. They also pretend to be the inventors of letters; it is from them, say they, that the Phœnicians, who preceded them in navigation, carried letters into Greece, and thus acquired for themselves the glory of an invention which they had received from Egypt."* To these passages, taken from the most celebrated writers of classical antiquity, we might add others from writers of

* *Annales*, lib. xi., cap. 14.

a secondary order, without any additional value being given to the traditions above cited, which these authors have, in general, merely repeated, more or less accurately.

We shall also abstain from reviewing the opinions of those writers who are inspired by too exclusive a system, and who can only believe that Adam, the first of men, or Noah, who renewed the human race, or Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrews, or lastly, Moses, their legislator, was the inventor of the art of writing. Ecclesiastical writers are, in fact, divided in their views as to these several persons, and unfortunately no contemporary monument exists by which these differences may be conciliated.

It is, at all events, certain that both written tradition and monumental remains concur in pointing to the East as the quarter in which the whole question as to the invention of writing is concentrated; and the evidence already produced sufficiently establishes this as a demonstrated fact. In other respects, to whatever country our views (perhaps preconceived) have been directed with reference both to time and place, there is another view of the question which cannot but attract our special attention towards the process adopted by the first man who fixed the first thought by the first sign. We may admit, with the most intelligent philosophers, that love may have inspired the first means, as it first caused to be felt the first wants of writing; we may also equally admit the operation of other passions and interests, since writing, which is useful to each, may have resulted from different sources; but the importance of the question does not perhaps entirely rest upon the examination of the fortuitous and numerous causes which might have conducted the human intellect to this incomparable invention; and the impossibility of obtaining certainty on such a subject, will shew the necessity of not dwelling upon it at any length. With more advantage we may speculate on the mode of thought which influenced the first inventor of the first sign; for mankind has been so much occupied during thousands of years in the cultivation of his intelligence, that, in all that concerns the art of rendering his thoughts permanent and sensible to the eye, and of eternalizing his expressions by attaching them to matter, we may believe, that every method he could imagine would be exercised in the attainment of such an object. We may therefore attempt without presumption to trace the steps of this proceeding, and from what man has effected since he has arrived at the perfection of his resources, to conjecture what were his early essays in this enterprise of the mind.

Inspired with the desire of fixing an idea, or recollection,

and instructed involuntarily by the shadow of the humblest plant on the earth, which represented its own figure, the figure of the object of his thoughts would unawares be drawn by his fingers; this figure would be a portrait, and this writing would be painting; but it would only delineate the forms of material objects, destitute of the expression of all accessory circumstances, both of time and place. The uncivilized tribes of Oceania are scarcely advanced beyond this first step in the invention of the graphic art. This invention is a real universal character, but only for the use of those people who (it may be said without jesting) have only one idea in their head at a time.

A step further would reveal the insufficiency of this first simple means. In painting a man, the individuality of the person was wanting, and such was also the case with places. It was this want of individual designations, that created the use of another kind of signs, each of which specially designated a certain person or locality, taken either from natural qualities, as the color of the features, or from physical position on a hill or in a valley; or, lastly, from other circumstances by which in the language the particular individual or objects similar to each other was previously designated. Thus, the characteristic sign for cities in general, as we learn from monuments, was a quadrangular figure, a single figurative sign representing the form of the object designated; but as each city had its own name, derived from peculiar circumstances, such as the city of the lion, or that of the serpent, the figure of a lion or a serpent was added to the square, by which means each city was distinguished from all the rest. To write these names, consequently, a *symbolical figurative* sign was added to the sign *properly figurative*, and this is the second step toward perfection in the art of writing; and beyond this the Mexicans have not advanced.

But in this state of civilization, although incomplete, there already existed a system of moral ideas; and the step to be made between the *representation* of physical objects, and the *expression* of metaphysical objects, was immense, and full of difficulty. Nevertheless, either by the effect of accident, or by a really premeditated invention, the nations of the old world surmounted this difficulty, and succeeded in producing signs for the graphic expression of such ideas as God, love, hate, &c.; arbitrary, indeed, and conventional, and special to each nation which separately arrived at this stage of the process, by means of more or less direct, and better or worse founded assimilations. For example, the *figure* of the heart was employed to express the *idea* soul,

because the soul was supposed to reside in the interior of the heart; and thus *enigmatic* or conventional signs were added to the two previous kinds. The Egyptians and the Chinese, who retained their figurative writing, invented for their use this species of arbitrary signs, and combined them, according to rules of their own formation, with the two other species of signs employed in their writing.

This combined system of signs would be sufficient for the peoples by whom it was invented, so long as no necessity existed for making themselves understood by signs to strangers, either nations or individuals. But no sooner were such relations established as to render this necessary, than the want of a mode of expressing by written signs the name of any thing, and the insufficiency of a method which could not be universal among their contemporaries, would become at once apparent; and nations who had become acquainted with each other, would remain equally strangers in regard to writing, as they were in language; for each of them (supposing all to have adopted the use of peculiar figurative signs) would have arranged their symbolical or enigmatical signs in a different order of ideas. So that although the signs *horse* or *lion* might be alike in the writing of two nations, those of *God, soul, strength, courage*, would in all probability bear no resemblance to each other.

A still greater difficulty would necessarily arise in the early social relations of nations from the individual appellations or proper names of men, which of course would occupy a great share in such intercourse. Thus, a new social necessity became manifest,—imperious, although previously unfelt; for as the proper names both of objects and men were taken from the language of each country, and as these names were of a significant nature, they might be expressed by the characters in use, since such names were only words or compound words already expressed, and employed in writing, so that it only remained to bring together the different parts or syllables; but this method was insufficien with respect to foreign names, which had no meaning, syllabically, in the language of the people to which such words did not belong.

In ignorance of the meaning, it was devised, therefore, to notice the *sounds* of which these names were formed, and to analyze and dissect these sounds; and the utility was readily perceived which would result from such a process, if to each sound a sign was appropriated which recalled it to mind, and fixed it irrevocably by writing. This is *alphabetic* or phonetic writing, the writing of sounds, the last step in the march of perfection of the art of

writing, and which by the universality of its application and usage, has been of incalculable service in the advancement of human society.

A remarkable circumstance must certainly have contributed to facilitate this sublime invention,—namely, the *monosyllabic* nature, in general, of the primitive languages. Thus, since the disc of the sun, figured by a *circle*, with a point in the centre, corresponded in figurative writing to the *word* in the *spoken language*, which was the *name* of the sun, (for instance, to the syllable RE, by which word the sun was designated in the Egyptian language) it was natural to represent the *sound* RE also by the disc of the sun. This single operation,—and there would be favorable opportunities for a great number of similar instances,—this first step, opened a new path for the intellect, and it was by this means that writing was communicated to all the secondary nations. At first the process applied only to foreign proper names, of which we have a proof among the Chinese, who write a name of this kind with figurative or symbolic characters, more or less compounded, the *pronunciation* of which approaches nearest to the *sound* of the *syllables* composing the *name* to be written; and as the Chinese characters have otherwise, and in the same text, their *ideographic* value, (that is, figurative or symbolic and expressive of *ideas* and not of *sounds*) the Chinese scribes took care to mark such characters with a perpendicular line at the side, so as to indicate their accidental value,—that is, their *phonetic* or sound-value to the reader.

The Chinese have not advanced further than this stage in the progress of invention, but the Egyptians went far beyond it; thus, they analyzed also the elements of each syllable; they determined the different kinds of voices or sounds peculiar to their language, and appropriated a sign for each of these elements. This was then a real *alphabet*, which they probably first employed for foreign names; but they subsequently perceived that their system of writing, fundamentally figurative, would acquire perfection by an association of this new kind of signs; they therefore admitted them for the written expression of the most ordinary words of their own language, and of their grammatical inflections, without discontinuing the use of the other kinds of signs consecrated by long anterior usage; and thus employing one or the other simultaneously at the will of the scribe, or according to individual convenience or the requirements of the subjective matter of the writing.

The idea of the signs of sounds being once entertained, the choice of the signs required, as it were, a second invention; the path was open to every system, but that which Egypt adopted

had nothing absolutely arbitrary; the phonetic sounds retained a figurative form, which gave to the Egyptian writing a perfect appearance of unity. The Egyptians selected from amongst these figurative signs a certain number, the form of which was invariably regulated for their new employ, and the choice of these signs was determined by a very rational rule, namely, that of taking for the *sign* of a *sound* the *figure* of an object, the *name* of which in the spoken language commenced with that sound. Thus, the *hand* represented T, because the spoken name of the hand was *Tot*. But more, the hand only represented T, when it was used in its consecrated form, that is to say, open; in another form, or marked with certain other signs, it is no longer a phonetic but a figurative or symbolical sign.

Thus, then, did mankind obtain an alphabet; for the form of the signs is of no consequence, their expression only is of importance. Egypt employed it for many thousand years before the Christian era, and no other nation in the world can pretend to the use of alphabetical writing at so remote a period.

We will now proceed to trace the effects of Egyptian influence on this memorable invention. The figurative writing, although it had become in part alphabetical, ceased not to represent the forms of material objects; each sign was a portrait, and it was necessary to be correct, in order to prevent mistakes. But this very fidelity was of itself an obstacle to the general usage of writing, since it was not possible that the entire nation should be draughtsmen; the abridgment of these portrait-signs became, therefore, advisable, in order to render the delineation easy, by restricting it to a few elementary lines. This second species of writing was a real tachygraphy, or short-hand, of the former; each of these portrait-signs being replaced by another, which was its abbreviation. Thus, the hinder part of a lion was traced, instead of the entire animal, the same plan being adopted for all the signs; and this new writing, termed *Hieratic*, or belonging to the priests, was at once rendered easy to those who had not the least notion of drawing. This writing, moreover, for the signification of the signs, was similar to the figurative writing; for these abbreviations of the portrait-signs had the same value, and the same expression, whether figurative, symbolic, or phonetic, as the portraits themselves, which were their types.

This mode of abbreviation was still more simplified for general purposes, and the *Demotic*, a popular writing, was invented for civil or domestic affairs. This, however, was in its turn, only a selection made from the hieratic or second kind of signs, and still consisted

of signs which might be referred to their primitive types or portrait-signs, and retained the same value; so that these three Egyptian kinds of writing are all referable to one, the first, namely, that of figurative writing.

Egypt, therefore, was known to be possessed of an alphabet by the ancient nations which first visited her, and she spread it abroad by means of her colonies; but the peoples who became her scholars, attached themselves only to the third of these kinds of writing, which was the last result obtained from the successive efforts made during so many ages to bring the graphic system to perfection; they regarded only the signs of sound, and adopted them as the most commodious for use, and not requiring any further improvement, — without paying due attention to those prodigious efforts of the human mind, which had filled up the space which separates the *idea* from the *written* or *spoken word* by which it is expressed. All these nations adopted alphabets, the signs of which were either imitated from others, or invented by the genius of each. Civilization henceforth had acquired its most powerful engine;—ages of long travail had at length brought forth this prodigy of the mind, in appearance so simple and so natural!

Such was the admirable labor undertaken by Egypt both for the use of herself and the nations formed in her school; the most ancient epochs of her history (which are those of the world itself,) are known and determined by written contemporary monuments, on which its graphic system appears everywhere complete; it is, so to speak, only by conjecture it can be asserted that the great Egyptian Empire had an infancy, for its oldest ruins are those of its period of full virility, and demonstrate to us its high perfection in arts, laws, and sciences.

Whilst on this branch of the subject, we may be permitted to observe, that the term *hieroglyphics* given alike to the Chinese, Egyptian, Mexican, and other analogous characters, is erroneous, and the progress made in the study of the graphic systems of antiquity, will no longer permit the use of the word in so generalized a sense; there being no other *hieroglyphic* or *sacred* writing than the Egyptian, derived from the portrait-signs. The Chinese have an *ideographic* writing, delineating the ideas, and not the sounds, by means of figurative and symbolic signs; whilst the Mexicans possessed only one kind of painting, in which they employed figurative signs, slightly intermingled with some signs to which necessity has applied a conventional value; neither Chinese nor Mexicans had a sacred writing, so that the word *hiero-*

glyphics, which has no other signification, can only be properly applied to the Egyptian writing.

In this exposition of the supposed process of the invention and gradual perfection of the art of writing, which has been drawn from facts observed among various nations of different periods and climates, we have nearly given the complete history of its invention and perfection among the Egyptians; since admitting, as the facts of history will permit, various inventions to have been made in a mutual state of isolation (an opinion founded upon the actual separation of the earliest societies of mankind, and the immense distances by which some of the most ancient nations were separated from each other, such as China and Egypt, placed at the opposite extremities of the Asiatic continent,) the PRIORITY in the general and public practice of writing, proved by written tradition and by still existing monuments, cannot be refused to Egypt; and this priority, which extends back so many ages anterior to the evidences of like authority which can be produced in favor of any other nation, is only one of the numerous considerations which may be deduced from the system of Egyptian writing, and from the general aspect of the social state of this great people, which compel us to recognize in it all the features of an original invention.

In presuming the Egyptians to have descended from Ethiopia and the mysterious sanctuaries of Meroë, according to a tradition founded upon very ancient narratives, as well as on some modern observations, the question only changes its locality and not its object; it would in that case be the Ethiopic writing which was adopted, and not invented by the Egyptians; it would, therefore, only be necessary to add some thousands of additional years to the invention, for Egypt must have descended from the banks of Meroë in a perfect state of civilization.

It is under the influence of her religious dogmas, founded, enlightened, and brought to perfection by civilization, that Egypt has herself related the origin of her national writing, and this has some claims to our attention.

The divine intelligence was personified in the first *Thoth*, the Hermes Trismegistes, or the celestial Hermes, the only one of the divine beings who, after the origin of things, comprised the essence of the supreme Deity. Thoth consigned this sublime knowledge to books written in a sacred language and writing,* which remained unknown until the creation of souls, the material universe, and the human race. The deluge succeeded; the physical world was again reorganized, and the Creator, taking pity on

* Manetho, in Syncellus, p. 40.

mankind living without rules and laws, was willing in giving them intelligence, to shew them the path by which they might re-enter his bosom, whence they had emanated. Isis and Osiris were directed to civilize the human race, and God gave them for their councillor the second Thoth,—Thoth the doubly-great,—who was but an incarnation of the first Thoth, the thrice-great (*Trismegistes*), and his manifestation on the earth. It is to this second Thoth that the Egyptians considered themselves indebted for all their social institutions. It is this god who taught them an articulated language, who imposed names upon all things*, who gave to each individual the means of communicating his thoughts, and to appropriate those of others; and lastly, he taught them how to fix these thoughts durably, by inventing the art of *writing*.

This belief of the Egyptians as to the invention of writing by the god Thoth, was only a portion of the religious precept, which attributed to the same deity all the sciences, divine and human, and the compilation of the sacred books. forty-two in number, containing all the rules, precepts, and documents relative to religion, public worship, government, cosmography, geography, and the arts and sciences. Thoth was the author of all the books known, and the titles of a considerable number of these works have been preserved; the ancient philosophers reckoned the number of those composed by Thoth at more than twenty thousand; but it must not be forgotten, that Thoth is only the personification of the sacerdotal and learned caste. The historical books, containing the annals of the nation, the great deeds of the kings, and the names of illustrious citizens, were considered as sacred, and deposited in the archives of the temples. Libraries were numerous in Egypt. Artaxerxes collected a great number of volumes in the temples which he pillaged, and the priests repurchased these books from the eunuch of the king at high prices. No other people has so extensively employed the knowledge of writing; scarcely a stone, an article of furniture, or even the most trivial utensil, but is inscribed with a name or a sentence; the art of writing was to Egypt the most useful gift of the divinity, and its invention was accordingly religiously ascribed by the Egyptians to this source.

In no other part of the globe can we discover any other, or more worthy origin of this art. India, not less religious than Egypt, attributes the gift of life and intelligence to Brahma, and

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. 14; Plato, in Philebus; Champollion the Younger, in the *Panthéon Egyptien*, article *Thôuth*.

it is by him that speech and writing were imparted to the Indian nation. We are not, however, told what was the state of the art at its commencement, nor if the god spared his worshippers the long series of trials and attempts which must have intervened between the most simple figure and the simplest letter of the alphabet; at all events there is no written tradition or monument throughout India which exhibits the usage of any other than alphabetic writing.

We have already mentioned the writing of the Chinese, which was originally figurative, like that of the Egyptians. The latter was written either from right to left, or from left to right, or in vertical columns. The Chinese writing, on the contrary, is always found written in vertical columns, ranging only from right to left; a disadvantageous arrangement, as it has destroyed in the signs all the traces of their primitive figurative forms. It has, however, one advantage over the Egyptian, in retaining to the present day the conditions of its origin. Compared together, we may remark between the Egyptian and Chinese writings real analogies, which are inevitable to the genius of man in working out any invention, and also differences not less real, whenever the same end is sought by different paths. Do not these remarkable facts demonstrate a *second invention* of writing, independent of all external influence, the honor of which it is but just to ascribe to the patient intelligence of the Chinese?

We are thus led by the foregoing summary of traditions and facts to the following conclusion,—that two celebrated peoples, the Egyptians and Chinese, living at the opposite extremities of Asia, unknown to each other, and, so far as the oldest historical records shew, without any mutual relations, had each from the earliest period separately invented a mode of writing, at first *figurative*, but subsequently carried forward and perfected by the one nation, to a *syllabic*, yet occasionally auxiliary system, and by the other, to an *alphabetic* system in its ordinary usage; and also that historical traditions, confirmed by still existing original monuments, give to the Egyptians the priority both in order of time and in the perfection of the primitive system.

Such a result derived from the preceding researches, will doubtless interest the minds of those who are curious in investigating the ancient revelations of history; and the philosophical observer of social phenomena will not contemplate unmoved these two great nations who were the inventors of writing, placed at the two extremities of the primitive world, upon the confines of the privileged Asiatic region, where the earliest attempts at civilization were to be made. From these two vast centres the

light was simultaneously diffused in the surrounding provinces, and the use of writing became universal. In what manner, however, was this intellectual propagation effected? This is one of the most impenetrable secrets of primordial history. The most attentive inquirers into the progress of the human intellect are compelled, in reference to this curious point, to argue from a state of things at a comparatively recent period, and are only enabled to study this progress in India (whose inhabitants were the first to adopt the use of writing,) when writing had attained the state in which it existed about the time of the conquests of Alexander, or a little before the commencement of the Christian era. A great lapse of time must have taken place between the invention, the primitive use, and its very secondary condition; and this intermediate period was that which produced those grand intellectual works, of which India may always be proud,—the great poem of the *Ramayana*, which preceded, in the epic style, the genius of Homer; the astronomical observations,—embodied long afterwards in the text of the *Surya-Sidantha*,—and the principles of algebra, the authors of which lived in comparatively modern times. But when facts cannot be supplied, except by conjectures, it is wise to remain in ignorance; and such is the case in regard to the antiquities of the great empire of India.

We cannot discover, either in its history or monuments, the slightest traces of a figurative or ideographic writing, and at whatever period we look, however early, of its literary civilization, we only find an alphabetical writing. Some inscriptions, classed among the most ancient Indian monuments, do not resemble in their characters the *Devanagari* and *Bengali* writings, (the two principal among the infinite variety of alphabets, ancient or modern, adopted in the different provinces of this vast country,) but their aspect is altogether alphabetic, as are the Devanagari and Bengali. These two writings were employed in copying the sacred books, with their commentaries, in the Sanscrit language; in their alphabets, the number of the letters is nearly the same, about fifty-two, although their phonetic value is not absolutely identical; nevertheless, variations occur only in five of the letters, and the principle, that a consonant written by itself, without a vowel, includes the sound of a short *a*, is common to both alphabets. Like all those of the Indian continent, which have thence originated, they are written from left to right, similar to the European alphabets; and the direction of the writing is a character essentially necessary to be noticed in the description of any alphabet, since this simple feature may supply important chrono-

logical, historical, or genealogical inductions, and become very serviceable in bringing to light some unknown circumstances of the intimate connexion existing between ancient nations. The direction of the writing, therefore, from left to right, is the fundamental character of all the Indian writings, and a feature common to all the families of Indian alphabets.

We cannot quit this subject without pointing out the marked opposition which existed in this respect, in the peculiar usages of the two vast but contemporary empires of the East, India and China.

The Chinese practice of figurative writing did not penetrate the Indian frontier, and even Thibet, which almost entirely separates the two countries, was also a stranger to it. Alphabetic writing, on the contrary, commenced at these same limits which separate two totally distinct civilized races, distinguished by their physical character,—the one constituting the yellow race of the Chinese, the other the white race of the Indians.

The inventions of the former were not, however, destitute of external influence, but taking a direction opposite to that of India, it extended over Tonquin, Cochin China, Japan, and Corea, the inhabitants of which, although speaking different idioms from the Chinese, adopted the principle of the Chinese writing, the forms of the greater part of its signs, and even its modes of combination and varieties. It is, in fact, certain that in Tonquin, as in China, the names and words are written with the radical, (or rather determinative group,) derived from the *figurative* principle, and with a *phonetic* group, representing the sound of the name of the object in question. The Japanese manifest a still stronger inclination towards the system of signs of sound, but do not proceed beyond a syllabary. The Coreans have arrived at an alphabet, properly so called, the signs of which are distinguished into vowels and consonants, which preserve in their altered forms traces of the primitive Chinese characters, from which they are derived; for the Coreans, placed at the extremity of the world, could only have obtained information from their Western neighbours, the Chinese, or their Southern neighbours, the Japanese. Thus, these three countries,—Tonquin, Japan, and Corea,—are to be classed in the system of writing invented by the genius of the Chinese; a writing at first figurative, but extended by the effect of time and the united efforts of these different nations, to the syllabic, and at length to the alphabetic system.

In the vast regions lying between India and Egypt there is no tradition except of alphabetic writing. The nations which

inhabit them have enjoyed nevertheless a high state of civil, religious, and commercial civilization; and among the memorable events of their history there are two facts especially prominent, which are of high importance in respect to the subject before us.

On taking a *coup d'œil* of these regions, we perceive that India is bounded on the west by the empire of Iran or Persia; that in the same direction, Iran touches on Assyria; and that from thence we pass direct through Mesopotamia and Syria proper to Egypt. India and Egypt constitute the two extremes of the line, and exercise a joint control over the intervening space. They are the two sources of social perfection, not rivalling each other, but possessing an uniform influence. India struck out to the west, took possession of Persia, and gave to it both its language and system of alphabetic writing; we meet with nothing earlier in the annals of Persia than these facts, the influence of which is still felt, since the modern language of Persia ascends by two or three generations of idioms to its Sanscrit original. The writing of Persia, indeed, proceeded from left to right, like that of India, but its signs were different from those of the Indian writing. They were, however, alphabetic, and the historical traditions in the *Shah-Nameh* give us no further information on the subject.

To the west of Persia, Assyria was influenced by a power different from that which had subjugated the former nation. Babylon and Nineveh did not employ a dialect of Indian origin; thus, the western boundaries of Persia were also those of Indian influence, and if Persia extended its conquests into Assyria, they were but temporary, and were replaced by another and more durable dominion. Nevertheless Assyria possessed an alphabetic writing, the signs of which were the same as those of Persia. It was, therefore, Persia which imparted this entirely Indian institution to Assyria.

But here presents itself to our notice another celebrated nation, full of energy and intelligence, praiseworthy for its labors, and rendered famous by the ancient recollections of its history. It sprung up and flourished in the Arabian Peninsula, situated between the Mediterranean, Persia, Egypt, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. This warlike nation established itself in all those spots, either on their coasts or inland, which were best adapted to facilitate its enterprise. The Arabian race was divided into several nations, each of which obtained celebrity, but speaking the same language, descended from a common stock, and differing only in the degree of their civilization by the influence of the localities in which they settled. The Arabs of the Desert remained

Bedouins; the others became Phœnicians, on the coast of the Mediterranean; Chaldæans, on the Euphrates and Tigris; Hamyarites, on the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean; and subsequently traversing the Red Sea, carried their manners and language into Ethiopia, where they still exist; lastly, those of the Hedja cultivated the art of poetry, founded Medina and Mecca, and believed in the Coran.

The various denominations under which these branches of the great Arabian family have been designated in history, might lead to some confusion respecting their unity, but these denominations indicate only the peoples established on one of the points of the Peninsula, and by this circumstance alone these peoples are Arabs, and spoke the Arabic language. Thus, the Hebrews were the Arabs of Palestine or Judæa, which is only the part of Syria lying between El-Arish and Sidon; the Phœnicians were the Arabs of Tyre and Sidon, from Mount Lebanon to Aleppo, and Phœnicia was thus only a province of Syria; the Babylonians were the Arabs of Mesopotamia, (the country between the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris,) or Assyria, situated between Persia and Armenia, and named in the modern language of Arabia, Irak-Araby or Diarbekir.

This unity of origin, this domestic community, is fully demonstrated by the identity of the origin of the languages known under these several denominations, considered both as to their grammatical constitution, and in the greater number of the roots of their words:—We must devote a few lines to this branch of the subject.

If the long nomenclature of Hebrew and Phœnician words found both in Chaldæan and Arabic, originated in the ancient territorial vicinity of the nations of the same name, it would follow that each of these peoples had a special language, and that it borrowed words from an adjacent nation, which it introduced into its own idiom, having first modified them according to its peculiar rules. This is the case everywhere, and without affecting materially the individuality of the idioms; the Spanish language, notwithstanding the great number of Arab words which it employs belongs to a family entirely different from the Arabic.

It is not the same, however, where two or more idioms are affiliated by the uniform similitude of the larger proportion of their words, and of the principal rules of grammar or syntax. It is thus with the Hebrew, Phœnician, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldæan, and Arabic; and these idioms predominate without intermixture nearly throughout the Peninsula. To suppose the Hebrew to be different from the Phœnician, we must admit also the exis-

tence of two languages in so small a province as Syria, including Palestine and Phœnicia. Abraham, a native of Chaldæa, was not a stranger in Syria, so far as language was concerned; the Chaldæan texts of the Scriptures differ only slightly from the Hebrew and Samaritan; the Syriac texts, the Greek words excepted, bear a still greater resemblance to the Chaldæan; and lastly, the affinity between the Hebrew and Arabic is such, that one and the same alphabet would almost suffice to form one and the same language.

These different dialects, it is true, have their proper characters, and Persian words and idioms might be easily introduced into the Chaldæan, Armenian or African-berber words into Phœnician, words of Egyptian origin into Hebrew, and Greek words into the Syriac,—a mixture of Hebrew and Chaldæan, which resulted from the establishment in Syria of the Jewish tribes of Chaldæa, —the youngest of all the dialects, and the furthest removed from the common parent. The Arabic language must clearly be recognized as such; since, isolated on the Peninsula, and surrounded on all sides by a cordon of tribes of its own race, which guarded it from the effects of contact with foreign nations, it preserved its rich grammar, its still richer nomenclature, and its superiority over all these dialects:—it is, in fact, even in the present day, the best guide for the study of them.

For all of these dialects an alphabetic writing was employed, and for each of them a peculiar alphabet bearing its name; an arrangement which has had an influence in preserving the individuality of these idioms; a sort of dissection similar to that practised on the body of the polypus, each fragment of which acquires fresh life, and which took place in respect to one of the finest and richest languages of the world, favored and perpetuated also by the rancorous tenacity of rival religious sects.

In the region now under discussion the system of alphabetic writing was in general use among its inhabitants of different denominations; and if we could, by means of careful research, discover in it traces, uncertain perhaps, of a state of writing anterior to the use of an alphabet, such a discovery would only indicate the almost insensible influence exercised by the figurative on the alphabetic system; but in this delicate operation of the mind, the facts which throw the smallest light upon the obscurity of its most secret operations, are of the highest value; they belong to the history of the human understanding.

Among the alphabets employed from the earliest known period to write all the dialects of the Arabian language, the one con-

sidered as the most ancient is the alphabet of the Samaritans or Hebrews, who inhabited Phœnicia. It is impossible not to acknowledge the influence of Egypt over this country, which the Pharaohs came to in the first march of their armies against the East; the most intimate commercial relations, moreover, subsisted between Egypt and Phœnicia, and the chief traders of Tyre had establishments at Memphis. Joseph, the son of Jacob, was sold to Ishmaelite merchants, who came from Galaad on the river Jordan, and carried to Egypt, together with camels, perfumes, resin, and myrrh. Egypt supplied corn to the adjoining countries, which wanted it; and the route over the neighbouring deserts was studded with public buildings, where the caravans halted in safety. Is it possible then to conceive, in such a state of reciprocal intercourse between all these nations, which was carried on essentially by means of numerical operations, (the notation of which must necessarily have been determinate, and kept for a greater or less length of time,) is it possible, we say, to conceive that one of these nations should have possessed the art of writing, of which all the others were ignorant? Now, long before the captivity and good fortune of Joseph in Egypt, writing was in general use in that country; the tombs of the servants in the palace, of the kings who built the pyramids, long anterior to the time of Joseph, still exist, ornamented with long Egyptian inscriptions, which state both the names and titles of these personages. Neither Phœnicia nor any other part of Syria could, therefore, at any period of their social existence have been ignorant of the literary practice of the Egyptians; and it would be still more difficult to suppose that they despised its value. We may consequently find without surprise, or rather we ought confidently to look for, in the elements of writing of the Syrian tribes, the evident influence of the public usages of the Egyptians.

We have already observed that Egypt, in adopting an alphabetical writing, did not renounce the employment of figures, the forms of which were admirably adapted for the ornamentation of vast elevated architectural and sculptured surfaces; taking, as the sign of each vowel or each consonant, the *figure* of an *object*, the name of which in the spoken language commenced with the same vowel or consonant;—it is just the same as if, by applying the system to French writing, we took the figure of a bull (*bœuf*) to express the consonant B, the figure of a finger (*doigt*) to express D, and so forth. At the same time, the sagacity of the Egyptians foresaw and provided against the difficulty which would have been experienced by the mass of the people, in tracing these

figures exactly. This figurative writing was therefore abridged into linear forms of easy execution, each sign of which would recall only to the learned the figurative type, but of which the linear form invariably preserved the name and phonetic value. This writing was used by the Egyptians for the ordinary purposes of life; it was the one which the strangers who entered into commercial relations with them, must have become acquainted with; and it was also that which must have served as the type for the introduction of this art among their own countrymen.

We have remarked also, that of all the alphabets belonging to the Syrian nations, the most ancient, according to the unanimous opinion of the learned, is that which is termed Samaritan. It was the alphabet of the first Hebrews, of the Prophets, of Moses, and of the Decalogue; the books of Moses still exist written in this ancient alphabet, which the Hebrews abandoned only after their return from Babylon. The most acute critics have remarked in it traces of high antiquity, as exhibited in its construction. Its use is even attributed to the Phœnicians previous to the entry of the Hebrews into the land of Canaan; and this opinion goes to confirm the theory which attributes to the Phœnicians the invention, or rather the universal propagation of alphabetic writing.

However this may be, and whether the Samaritan alphabet be or be not identical with that of the Phœnicians, traces of a complete imitation of the Egyptian system are not to be mistaken in it.

This Samaritan alphabet consists of twenty-two letters, each of which has received a significant name in the Hebrew language, of which the following are examples:—

A	is named	*Aleph*	and signifies	*ox* or *chief.*
B	„	*Beth*	„	*house.*
G	„	*Ghimel*	„	*camel.*
D	„	*Daleth*	„	*gate.*
Z	„	*Zain*	„	*dart* or *sword,*
M	„	*Mem*	„	*spot* or *water.*
N	„	*Nun*	„	*fish, tribe.*
K	„	*Kaph*	„	*palm of the hand.*
Ph	„	*Phe*	„	*mouth.*
R	„	*Resch*	„	*head.*
Sch	„	*Schin*	„	*teeth.*

In the same manner all the phonetic signs of the Egyptian writing had a distinct appellation, derived from the objects of which they were the portraits. It is true, that the signs of the

Samaritan alphabet did not retain in figure the evident forms of the objects of which they bore the names; and this is conceded notwithstanding the opinion of some writers of authority, who discover in the form of the *aleph* the head of an *ox*, with its two horns; in the *ghimel*, the long neck of the *camel*, and so on with the other letters. It might be possible also to discover in some of the Samaritan letters the forms of certain signs of the linear Egyptian system of writing; but this is merely an accidental resemblance, since the value of the two signs, although similar in figure, is different in expression.

The Samaritan characters, therefore, strictly speaking, do not preserve in their actual forms any certain trace of the figures of the objects of which each letter bears the name; but the earliest monuments now existing of this kind of writing are so distant from the period and primitive state of its invention, that this deficiency of the figurative principle in the present form of its letters ought not to surprise us, and cannot be urged against the theory here given. The Egyptian principle still manifestly exists in the Samaritan alphabet, and proves that when the Hebrews, in the days of the patriarchs, adopted the use of writing, they were guided only by the popular condition of the Egyptians, and were ignorant of the (to them useless) general theory of hieroglyphic writing, and thus imitated the popular and ordinary writing of Egypt in its *alphabetic state* only: and following out the principle which had been admitted at its formation, they regulated the figures of the Samaritan phonetic signs by imitating, more or less happily, the forms of certain objects, the names of which commenced with the vowel or consonant of their alphabet; and if at the present time the forms of the Samaritan letters are entirely unlike either the figure of those objects, or the primitive forms of the letters themselves, we may attribute the change to the lapse of time and the want of original monuments, which would probably exhibit to us a gradual degradation from the quasi-figurative primitive signs of the Samaritan writing.

Another consideration may be added, which seems warranted by the circumstances of the case; the inventor of the Samaritan writing must have been acquainted with the constituent parts of the Egyptian system; in its nomenclature, even popular, this system was composed of a mixture of figurative, symbolic, and phonetic signs, but which scarcely preserved in their shape any indication of their original figure, the motives of their symbolism, or causes of phoneticism: the relative utility of each of the three classes of signs was evident on the slightest inspection; and a stranger

who had no concern with the religious ideas of the Egyptians, and who could not comprehend the necessity of figurative signs, already destitute of a figure, must at the same time have been forcibly struck with the evident advantages of the third class of signs, which, representing sounds, expressed the words of the language as direct signs of the thoughts; the stranger would, therefore, ardently embrace the last of these systems, and justly neglect the two others as superfluous.

Thus, with more or less analogy between conjecture and reality, the Samaritan writing originated from the phonetic Egyptian writing; the first alphabet was established; an eternal type given to the world, which changed its features, and supplied mankind with the most powerful, the most durable vehicle of civilization.

The invention of this first alphabet is deserving of the consideration which has been given to it; it forms one of the remarkable epochs of the subject before us, and the starting point of a new phase in the destiny of European nations.

Among the contemporaries of the Hebrew-Samaritans, and among the Hebrews themselves, the same system of signs was generally adopted in regard to the phonetic principle, but numerous variations were introduced in the forms of these signs. A portion of the Hebrew tribes was carried into captivity in Assyria, where alphabetic writing had long been in use, and the cuneiform characters formed the national writing. The Hebrews of Babylon had several good causes for learning and using these characters, and they appropriated to themselves a series of letters, composed of varied combinations of the elementary feature of the cuneiform writing, the wedge or nail; and thus a new alphabet was formed to write their mother language. This alphabet is what we call the *Hebrew*, being a series of rectangular signs, which may be all decomposed into isolated wedges or nails, and thus reveal their Babylonian origin, and would probably afford material assistance in the study of the numerous Assyrian inscriptions, on which so many learned efforts have hitherto been made with such partial success. On their return to Jerusalem, the Hebrews of Babylon preserved this alphabet of Babylonian origin; Esdras adopted it in his version of the Bible; a schism took place between the Samaritans and Hebrews, and this led to the perpetuation of these two alphabets from the mutual hate of the two Israelitish sects.

Without the possibility of determining their relative priority, other alphabets may be ranged contemporaneously with those of the Samaritans and Hebrews. The Chaldæan alphabet is identical with the Hebrew; the Syriac has had several epochs, and

that variety termed Estranghelo is considered the most ancient; the Ethiopian, used by the people of this denomination, whom Herodotus named Ethiopians of Upper Egypt, and who are of the Arabian stock, is in close connexion in form with that of the Samaritans, but written from left to right, contrary to the one which is said to have served for its type; it is, moreover, syllabic in its construction.

The Arabic alphabet,—of which the origin is unknown, and imitations of which extend, beneath the influence of the Coran, all over the East of modern times,—completes the list of the inventions and usages which the necessity of writing propagated among the nations established in those vast countries, of which India and Egypt, their instructors, formed the two limits, and where the indefatigable industry of the Phœnicians became the inexhaustible source of social benefits.

Before quitting the northern frontiers of Syria, we must refer to the singular destiny of Armenia, which exhibits to us, in the extensive ruins of a city long since forgotten, the proof of an invasion undertaken against the nation by one of the sovereigns of Babylon,—most probably Semiramis, who erected magnificent buildings, and formed wonderful excavations in the base of the mountains near Lake Van, on the borders of which this city was built. In their ruins are found a number of inscriptions in the cuneiform character, which prove that this style of writing was carried into Armenia by the conquerors, where it must have subsisted during the whole of the Assyrian dominion. Armenia subsequently followed the fortunes of the empire of Cyrus; and the writings in use in Persia were doubtless also employed there; but subsequently Armenia used the writing imposed on her by the sword of Alexander of Greece, and at length, in the fifth century, she adopted the characters still in use, which Christianity has preserved to her, and which participate remarkably in the peculiar feature of those ancient modes of writing proceeding from Indian influence, in being written from left to right, as in the writing of modern Europe.

The same remark is also applicable to Georgia, which shared in a singular manner the destiny of Armenia. She possessed, it is said, a national alphabet, invented by King Pharnabases in the third century B. C.; and in the fifth century of our era another alphabet was formed for her use, which has been handed down to our times, and is borrowed also from ancient Indian models, conveyed by invasion into these distant regions.

But the Phœnicians, those enterprising couriers of the com-

merce of the ancient peoples of the East, again demand our attention. Carrying with them their manufactures and their knowledge to all the harbours of the European seas to which they directed their navigation, they may be considered as the founders of the civilization of Europe by the introduction of writing; and their written monuments point out their route from East to West, at Cyprus, Athens, Malta, and Sicily. The Asiatic Tyre, queen of the sea, according to the expression of the prophet, founded Carthage on the shores of Africa, and planted there her language and writing; but Carthage in return engrafted in the language Numidian and Berber words, which have become the source of endless difficulties in decyphering the Punic inscriptions, although written with the Phœnician alphabet. This alphabet was given to Europe, free from any heterogeneous admixture. Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, have never rejected the traditionary origin of this benefit; but the silence of public annals, and the want of authentic monuments have hitherto hidden from view the period of its introduction. If we consult the archæological documents of the ancient nations of the East, we are able to trace evident proofs of an early social intercourse with those of the West; an intercourse of such a nature as necessarily to imply, that the chief public institutions of the former could not have been unknown to the latter. When the arts of Egypt, many ages before the destruction of Troy, represent the Greeks on the monuments of the Nile, with their characteristic physiognomy and costume, with the spear or shield held in one hand and the seven-stringed lyre in the other, how can we believe that the Greeks, so well known to the Egyptians, should have been totally ignorant of them?

Inachus and Phoroneus reigned at Argos in the twentieth century before the Christian era: this was also the period of the great and numerous invasions made by the Eastern people—Shepherds or Phœnicians—on the islands and continent of Greece: the germs of civilization spread rapidly among them, and Argos soon became only the first of many adjoining cities which were established. This social progress could not have been made without the aid of writing, the use of which was certainly known to these foreign colonists, whether conducted by princes or merchants, whether from Egypt or Phœnicia; and this weighty consideration founded on historical facts, explains the tradition recorded by Diodorus Siculus (lib. v.), that a great deluge, some time before the epoch of Cadmus, destroyed not only the greater part of the Greek nation, but also all its written monuments.

The traditions relative to the origin of the Greek alphabet

varied among their learned writers, but appear to agree in some of the difficult points connected with this important question. They acknowledge the power of Argos and Sicyonia many centuries before the arrival of the Phœnician Cadmus in Greece, and they accord also on the subject of certain modifications which this personage introduced into the use of the writing previously existing among the Greeks.

The principal historians of this nation appear to have written very clearly on the subject in question. Herodotus (lib. v. cap. 58) has mentioned the tradition relative to the Phœnicians of Cadmus, who carried with them into Greece the knowledge of various new arts, and among them, of *letters*, which (according to his opinion) had not been previously in use there. "The Greeks," he adds, "at first admitted the same characters employed by the Phœnicians, but afterwards modified their forms, so as to fit them for the Greek language."

The Ionic Greeks, nearer neighbours of the Phœnicians, had also obtained from them the knowledge of writing.

Dionysius of Miletus, cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. iii.), states likewise, that the poet Linus first introduced into the Hellenic dialect the letters which Cadmus had brought from Phœnicia.

From the comparison of these different opinions we draw the natural conclusion, that the Greeks already possessed an alphabet before the arrival of Cadmus; that Cadmus taught them certain letters or signs of sounds, which their alphabet did not previously contain; and that these new letters, adopted by the Greeks, were introduced in time into general use. But the distinction between the two alphabets was not lost by this adoption; the learned Greeks still distinguished between the ancient national alphabet, the *Pelasgic**, and the new alphabet, augmented by the Phœnician letters.

Diodorus Siculus relates (lib. iii.) that Linus, "who introduced into the Hellenic alphabet the letters of Cadmus, wrote the history of the first Bacchus in Pelasgic letters; Orpheus, the scholar of Linus, and Thymœtes, the contemporary of Orpheus, also wrote their works with the same Pelasgic letters." Thus, the Pelasgic alphabet is that which the Greeks employed before the arrival of Cadmus; it retained this name, when it was used without the admixture of the new letters; it assumed the name of the Phœnician or Cadmean alphabet, when the letters of Cadmus were added to it; and as they became generally adopted, the

* Demosthenes, *Orat. contr. Neœram*, [tom. iv., p. 392, ed. Lond. 1827, 8vo.] Pliny Junior, *Epist.* lib. viii. 24.

denomination of Phœnician or Cadmean was adopted also. For this important fact we are indebted to Diodorus Siculus. Herodotus also informs us, that he had seen at Thebes in Bœotia inscriptions in Cadmean letters, sculptured on tripods preserved in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo;—the distinction of these two alphabets is thus recorded by the testimony of the father of Greek history.

This Pelasgic alphabet, there can be no doubt, was the primitive alphabet of the Greeks, which was composed of sixteen letters (all the authorities agree as to this number); but it was subsequently increased to twenty, and finally to twenty-four. In regard to the circumstances and periods of these additions, opinions again vary; and as this subject directly interests modern literature, we will briefly examine it in its chief points of view, since this Greek alphabet has become the universal alphabet of Europe.

The sixteen Greek letters represented only the simple and primitive sounds; the delicate gradations in the pronunciation of the words of a language, and the various acceptations of the same word, resulting from its different modes of accentuation, are the result of a luxury of elocution, proceeding from a luxurious state of society, which is manifested far more at its decline than at its commencement. We consider the following as the primitive and simple letters of the Greek alphabet:—*A, B, Γ, Δ, E, I, K, Λ, M, N, O, Π, P, Σ, T, Υ.* These letters were probably not all introduced at the first establishment of the alphabet, since some analogies of articulation may be observed, which seem to render a few of these letters superfluous; such as *B, Γ, Δ,* which are modifications of the sounds of *Π, K, T.* No written evidence, however, exists, except such as relates to the addition of the eight letters, which, united to the sixteen above given, make up the number of twenty-four in the alphabet.

In these additional letters, two prominent features appear to divide them into two distinct series. The first consists of four signs really new, nearly all of which are aspirated, the sounds of which exist in the Samaritan, Hebrew, and Phœnician alphabets: these letters are *Z, Θ, Φ,* and *X,* and the articulations which they represent are employed in all the idioms of the East of the same origin as those signs. For the few Phœnician words which the Greeks adopted, these signs became necessary, and Cadmus gave these signs to them;—such at least is the most probable conjecture, and that which best agrees with the facts and written traditions handed down to us in the history of Greece.

The Greek alphabet, thus composed of twenty letters, remained

long in this state; the most ancient writers employed no other. Homer, *if he wrote at all*, made use only of these twenty letters; and this fact is opposed to the present division of his immortal poems into twenty-four books, accordant with the twenty-four letters of the new Greek alphabet, which Homer could not have known. Thucydides and his contemporaries, in the middle of the fifth century B.C. still wrote with the alphabet of twenty letters, although their works have come down to us in the form common to those of the more recent Greek writers. The editors of the school of Alexandria took upon themselves the responsibility of this transmutation, and thereby prepared for the learning of modern critics the most difficult enigmas, and the glory of their solution. The texts of Homer, Thucydides, and their contemporaries, contain the four letters last added to the Greek alphabet, and which are only modifications of four other simple primitive signs; *H*, which had already been used to mark the aspirates, and which took the place of *EE*, or *E* long; *Ω*, for *OO*, or *O* long; *Ψ*, instead of *ΠΣ*; and *Ξ*, for *ΚΣ*. The digamma, which had the form of *F*, was introduced into the Æolian orthography. The antiprosodiacal conjunction of two vowels in the poems of Homer, and the orthography of many Latin words transcribed from the Greek, sufficiently prove the ancient usage of this phonetic sign.

The last addition to the Greek alphabet, making the total number twenty-four, has given rise to a great controversy both among the ancients and moderns, as to its author and era. Palamedes has been named, during the Trojan war; but the historian of this great drama, which set Greece and Asia Minor in flames, and thus became an important epoch in the history of the West, makes no mention of the invention of Palamedes, nor avails himself of it. On the Greek monuments, (of more weighty authority than all the historical traditions,) as the Nointel marble, which is dated in the year 457 B.C., and the Choiseul marble, the beginning of the inscription on which refers to the month of July, in the year 410 B.C., none of these four new Greek letters are employed. The poet Simonides has also been named among the reformers of this alphabet, about the same period; but it is certain that a short time before his death the Athenian alphabet comprised the long vowels *H* and *Ω*; for another poet, Callias, having composed *a Tragedy of Letters*, introduced into it a chorus of women in the prologue, spelling the letters, forming syllables, and singing, *beta, alpha, BA, beta, epsilon, B E, beta, heta, B H, beta, omega, BΩ**.

The tragedian Euripides, twenty years subsequent to Simonides,

* Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.*, lib. x. p 453, ed. Casaub.

was also acquainted with the vowel *H*, and in a fragment of his play intitled *Theseus*, preserved by Athenæus*, a shepherd who could not read, thus describes the name of this prince:—"The first of the letters is a circle, with a dot in the middle; the second is formed of two vertical lines, united in the middle by another line;" in which description we recognise the letters Θ and *H*. It may, however, be remarked, that these four additional Greek letters are not found on the Athenian monuments before the year 403 B.C., although then known to the writers and poets for the space of half a century; but this singularity will not embarrass us, if it be remembered that Archinus, the virtuous and courageous accomplice of Thrasybulus, first proposed to the Athenians to introduce these four new letters on the public monuments, and that a decree to that effect was pronounced under the archontate of Euclid, which dates from the month of July in the same year, 403. This fact, recorded in the work of the historian Theopompus, explains the difficulty above alluded to, and fixes the date of the final completion of the Greek alphabet with the number of twenty-four letters. The most ancient monuments of Greek art bearing inscriptions confirm the vulgar tradition, that the Greeks wrote at first from right to left, in imitation of their masters the Phœnicians; but they subsequently adopted the practice of writing alternately from right to left and from left to right,—a proceeding which, from its resemblance to the successive furrows made by the oxen in ploughing, has been termed *boustrophedon*. The custom at length became common of writing from left to right in all the Hellenic countries. The history of the art of writing among the Greeks interests so forcibly the similar institutions of the rest of Europe, that too much time or care cannot be spent in clearing up its obscurity; modern Europe, indeed, is but a transformation of Latin Europe, and the latter was the pupil of the Hellenic schools, the inheritors of the sciences of the East. Horace, one of the greatest geniuses of Rome, thus proclaimed the intellectual origin of his country:—

> Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.—(*Epist. II.* i. 156.)

It is true, that the earliest days of Rome were not those of the whole of Italy; but it is equally certain, that the primitive Greek alphabet of sixteen letters was also the alphabet of the Etruscans, the Romans, the Gauls, the Germans, and the Celtiberians of the south and north of Europe. The origins of all these nations

* Athenæus, *ibid.*, p. 455.

seem to ascend to this single source; and hence the Greek alphabet merits justly the name of European.

The history and fate of the Greek language are well known, and its alphabet underwent the same fortune. The language still subsists with nearly all those characteristic features derived from the most spiritual and elegant state of civilization ever produced; it declined under the influence of the Roman masses, and would have perished in the invasions of foreigners, if a new creed had not preserved and consecrated its use. It was Christianity which propagated the knowledge of the Greek alphabet, giving it on the one hand to the Egyptians, and on the other to the Slavonians and all the branches of this race in Europe.

The ancient Latin alphabet was the same as the Greek: such at least is the assertion of the two celebrated Romans, Pliny the Elder* and Tacitus†. It was introduced into Latium, either by the Pelasgi or by Evander, or by some one else. To determine this point, we must obtain some fixed notions on the state of the peoples of Italy during the centuries which intervened betweeen the fall of Troy and the birth, or rather the growth, of Rome; and it is an admitted fact, that no monument exists of a date anterior to the period ordinarily assigned to the latter event. The question would be still more difficult of solution if, in uniting the origin of the alphabet with that of the language, and recognizing in the latter proofs of its alliance with the sacred language of India, we should inquire whether the adventurous voyagers who gradually opened a communication between the Indian and Mediterranean seas, did not bring to these shores both a language and an alphabet?

We must, however, confine ourselves to the narrow limits occupied by the Latin grammarians, and admit, that the most ancient Latin alphabet, like that of the Greeks, was composed only of sixteen letters, the forms of which differed but slightly from the Greek. On the oldest written monuments we only find these sixteen simple and primitive letters of sound. Such is the text of the inscription of the *Fratres Arvales*, who invoked the divinities for the protection of the fruits of the earth; and the monuments of this class come down to the times of Ennius and Plautus, and are thus connected with the earliest productions of Latin literature. But the Romans were not the only ancient, powerful, and lettered nations among the inhabitants of Italy. The monuments of their rivals and founders still exist. The inscribed marbles of the Etruscans, properly so called, who dwelt on the Macra and the

* Lib. vii., cap. 58. † *Annal.* lib. xi., cap. 14.

Tiber; of the Sabines, the Volsci, and the Samnites (of Lower Etruria), to the east of the Tiber; and lastly, of Upper Etruria, on the banks of the Po. The alphabets of these inscriptions are similar to those of the Latin and Greek alphabets, and spring from the same source; but they are written from right to left, like the Syriac, and the vowels are often suppressed. We meet with some words in them which have passed into the Latin; but the foundation of the language is foreign to Italy; and notwithstanding numerous attempts, the greatest obscurity still hangs over the origin of this antique idiom. Thus, the Etruscan alphabet was the same as that of the Romans; and if we should here discuss the question of anteriority in its use, we must recall to recollection that Rome acknowledged the obligations she was under to Italian civilization, in regard to the worship of the gods, her municipal policy, and literary compositions. The most ancient texts in the Latin language, the hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*, for instance, are still read very uncertainly, notwithstanding the labors of various eminent critics; so much does the orthography of the words and the grammatical construction differ from the rules introduced at a much later period into the Latin language. The very limited number of the letters of the alphabet required, moreover, that the same sign should serve to express several sounds: thus, *acna, cotidie, facet, vogs*, were written for *agna, quotidie, faxet*, and *vox;* the Z was unknown, and replaced by *cs, gs, d*, or *ss;* the short vowels were often suppressed, as *lebro, bne, krus, cante*, for *libero, bene, carus, and canete;* the I often disappeared from the middle of a word, and so also was the case with M, N, and S. The short vowels became long by repeating the letters; thus *feelix* and *juus* were written instead of *felix* and *jus;* the conjunction of two consonants was prevented by the introduction of a vowel between them, as in *aucetum, sinisterum, materi*, in lieu of *auctum, sinistrum*, and *matri;* and the conjunction of two vowels, by the insertion of D, as *antedac*, for *antehac;* and this took place occasionally even between two words, whence we have *med, altod, marid*, for *me, alto, mari*, when these words were followed by a vowel. The diphthong *ei* was frequent, as well as variations in the orthography of the same word, *erihont, erafont, erivont*, being written for *erunt*. The letters G, H, K, Q, X, Y, Z, were the last which were admitted into the Latin alphabet, and are wanting in the hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*. G and Q appear in the inscription of L. Scipio Barbatus, which is of the year 298 B.C.; H is found in the epitaph of his son Lucius, consul in the year 259; X and K in some later inscriptions: but this was now the epoch when Asia, Africa, and Europe,

furnished, as a new tribute, the glorious surnames of the illustrious race of the Cornelii.

This passage from the hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*—

ENOSLASESIVVATENEVELVERVEMARMARSINSINCVRREREINPLEORES,

ought to be read, according to the most learned critics, *Enos lases juvate, neve luerne, Marmar, sins incurrere in pleores,* equivalent to the Latin phrases, *Nos lares juvate, neve luerhem* (for *luem*), *Mamors, sines incurrere in flores.*

In the inscription of Dvillius, (Billius,—*Dvellum* for *Bellum Dvellonai* for *Bellonæ,*) which records a naval victory in the year 250 B.C., but of which the text appears to have been renewed in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, we read, *Casteris exfociont, macellam pucnandod cepet,* for *Castris effugiunt, macellam pugnando cepit.* There is also inscribed on the tomb of Scipio, the son of Barbatus, *Honc oino ploirume cosentiont,* which, according to the received orthography, is to be read, *Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt.* Sixty years afterwards, a decree of the senate was published at Rome against the Bacchanalians, a contemporary copy of which, engraved on a plate of bronze, has come down to our times, and we there read:—*De Baccanalibus quæ foiderati esent, ita exdeicendum censuere . . . . . atque utei hoc in tabolam ahenam inceideritis . . . . . ut eique eam figier jobeatis, ubei facilamed gnoscier potesit.* In the same text we also find, *Oinvorsei virei, in oquoltod, in poplicod,* for *universi viri, in occulto, in̄ publico ;* and lastly, *De senatuos sententiad,* instead of *De senatûs sententia.*

This Latin text thus composed was affixed in public places, where it was read and understood; the written Latin language and its orthography were therefore such as this monument exhibits. Are we to suppose, therefore, that at this time the senators, the knights, and their freedmen, wrote their works otherwise than the senate wrote its decrees? Now, at the date of this decree against the Bacchanalians, Ennius was at Rome, Plautus had given to the public the greater part of his comedies, and Terence was born. Able jurisconsults, the *litterati* and *litteratores,* (that is, the learned men and the grammarians,) had then composed various works, and had necessarily employed the same language and the same orthography. Of this, however, no traces remain in the copies of their works which have come down to us. Printing being unknown to the ancients, they were able only to multiply their works by making manuscript copies, into which the scribes would, of course, introduce from century to century the orthography then in use; and the whole of the classical Latin literature

has undergone this transformation from its earliest period to its close. We must not, therefore, feel surprised to find no difference at the present day between the orthography and syntax of the writings of Cato and those of St. Jerome; the fatal skill of the scribes has been exercised on them, and there is no Latin text preserved in manuscripts, whatever be its origin, which has not been accommodated to the style of the fourth century after Christ; a style which rendered all authors contemporary and the Roman language uniform, during the ten succeeding centuries. Fortunately, the ancient monuments have preserved their original expressions, orthography, syntax, and real Latin acceptation of the words; but this kind of Latin is not familiar to professed *Latinists*, who call it the *lapidary style*, and a Latin of its own kind, although it is the root of the Latin which they teach. Quintilian complains, that in his days orthography was already embarrassed with a host of trifles, since, being subjected to the style of the time, it had undergone constant changes*; and without paying attention to the origin of languages or the variations of their etymology, the same writer cites many proofs of these novelties, adding, that in his days there were persons who obstinately persisted in saying *audivisse*, *scivisse*, *tribunale*, *faciliter;* that one could not tell whether to say *senatus*, *senatús*, *senatui*, or *senatus*, *senati*, *senato meridies* or *medidies;* that the ancients employed *heri*, but that *here* was then used; that Cato wrote *dicem*, *faciem*, and Livy, *sibe*, *quase*, instead of *dicam*, *faciam*, *sibi*, *quasi;* and in our official Latin we have adopted nearly all that Quintilian condemned, *audivisse*, *scivisse*, *faciliter*, *heri*, *senatus* and *senatús*, *meridies*, *dicam*, *faciam*, *sibi*, and *quasi*. But there was already at Rome, even in early times, the *lingua nobilis* and the *lingua plebeia*, and the *Latine loqui* was distinguished from the *grammatice loqui:* at Rome, well-educated persons, much more than in modern society, formed the exception; and as popular ideas and practices have always the best chances of durability, the idioms which have replaced the Latin in Roman Europe prove that the *lingua plebeia* and the *Latine loqui* have survived all the Roman literature.

The whole of Europe employed the Greek or Latin alphabet from the earliest origin of its literature. Cæsar found the knowledge of it among the Gauls†; and after the defeat of the Helvetii, the Romans discovered in their camp the muster-roll of the

* *Institutiones Orat.*, lib. i., cap. 7.

† *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi., b. 205, ed. Oberlin.

Gaulish army written in Greek letters*. Notwithstanding, however, this evidence as to Greek influence, the Gaulish language was quite free from Latin and Greek; and Cæsar was unable to hold a conference with the chief Divitiacus, except by the aid of an interpreter. Moreover, the Greeks were established at Marseilles five centuries before the invasion of Gaul by Cæsar, and the Gauls had often visited Italy, so that they could not be ignorant of the use of writing. And lastly, the earliest conquests of Q. Fabius Maximus, and the occupation of the country between the Alps and Pyrenees, which composed the Roman province of Gaul, became likewise a means of communication between Rome and the south of France.

In the north, at the time of the Roman invasion, Gaulish inscriptions were discovered on the frontiers of Germany and Rhætia; and Tacitus, who has informed us of this curious fact, adds that they were written in Greek characters; another testimony as to the universality of the use of that alphabet, which being at once Greek, Latin, Etruscan, Spanish, and German, cannot be named otherwise than the alphabet of Europe. And, indeed, if the different nations of Europe had not been already acquainted with it, the Roman conquests would have given it to them; and if Europe has unanimously adopted and preserved it until now, we must be grateful for the benefit to Rome, which, both in her pagan and catholic unity, has equally contributed to introduce, generalize, and perpetuate the usage of this system of writing, worthy of all admiration for its simplicity, the last and most sublime effort of the human mind for the development of intelligence and inquiry after truth.

It will be unnecessary to enter at any length into the question of the universal adoption of the Latin writing by the whole of Europe, the Slavonian family excepted, the fact being known to all. The Roman power introduced this writing into the most distant regions, and Christianity, which conquered them in its turn, by subduing their savage manners, and facilitating the acquisition by man of his proper dignity, naturally led the people to the cultivation of the mind; the sciences became christianized, and this unity of precepts necessarily directed all instruction towards a unity of doctrine. It was necessary to be able to read, and generally also to write, in order to enter the Church, the affluent and predominating class; and the principle of self-aggrandizement would never be inactive. Christian monuments of every century

* *De Bello Gallico*, lib. i., cap. 29, p. 33.

attest the preservation of the Latin writing throughout Europe, as well as the infinite varieties of form which its different letters underwent from age to age, according to the national taste of each country.

The numerous specimens assembled together in the present work, in the order of time and place, will exhibit these varieties of form to our readers, who will readily be able, after the slightest examination of the Latin texts, to discriminate the two extremes of good and bad taste, between which the history of Latin writing in Europe is contained;—in their origin, the most beautiful and regular majuscule Latin characters, and, towards the close, the most deformed and complicated Gothic characters.

Those authors who have devoted the greatest attention to the study of Latin writing, from its origin to our own times, have rightly divided it into numerous species, materially distinct, according as this writing was employed on hard substances, such as inscriptions, and seals on stone and metal; or for producing copies of texts already existing, executed by professional scribes, according to the style of their own age; or, lastly, for the ordinary use of private persons, or for domestic or public documents.

Under these three great divisions must be ranged an infinite number of kinds and varieties of writing, which represent the diversified taste of different ages and countries, or rather, the general effect of the decline of arts and letters, until their first renovation, (temporary, it is true,) under Charlemagne, and their real restoration by the genius of the age of Francis the First.

By the aid of our specimens of Latin writing, the fine Roman capital writing will be seen to become debased under the names of the Lombardic in Italy, the Visigothic in Spain, the Anglo-Saxon in England, the Gallican, Franco-Gallic, Merovingian, Caroline, Capetian, and Ludovician in France, the Teutonic in Germany, and the Gothic everywhere. All these different denominations, which are so many testimonies of the evil fortunes of the Latin writing, are applicable to all its forms, the uncial, semi-uncial, mixed, minuscule, and cursive; and they embrace, at the same time, marbles, seals, coins, manuscripts, charters of all kinds, and the simplest letters-missive, until the modern period of the invention of printing.

A question of more general interest still remains to be discussed. Is the general order in which the letters of the alphabet are arranged of ancient usage, and founded on any known principle?

In the discussion of this question, we must exclude the alphabets of Latin Europe, represented by their common type, the

Greek alphabet, which is derived itself from the Samaritan or Phœnician; the question is, therefore, to be argued between these two, which represent all those which are related to them, both in an ascending and descending series. In respect to the Greek alphabet, the most ancient documents (the *Tragedy of Letters*, composed by the Athenian Callias, already mentioned, must be placed among the number,) do not completely clear up the difficulties of the subject; the *Tragedy* proves, indeed, that the order of the Greek vowels was *A, E, H, I, O, Υ, Ω,* but nothing more; and we cannot obtain any precise information as to the place of each in the Greek alphabet.

Another document, which has the rare merit of being inedited, touches on all the points of the question, without entirely clearing up any of them; it is nevertheless of great value, from its original authenticity.

In exploring the tombs excavated in the mountains of Beni-Hassan, at Qadim, in Middle Egypt, M. Champollion le Jeune found, in October, 1828, in the hypogæum which is the tenth of the series, a stone tablet of Greek writing, inscribed with red characters, and evidently made for the purpose of instruction in reading; being, in fact, a sort of horn-book and syllabic table for beginners, entirely Greek, without any mixture of Coptic writing. It is thus constructed:—Seven divisions are placed one above the other, the first of which is entirely filled with the letters of the Greek alphabet, isolated, often repeated, and without any order, the vowels and consonants being confusedly intermingled. Then follows a series of syllables, which are a successive combination of each consonant, in the actual order of the alphabet, with each of the seven vowels, *BA, BE, BH, BO, BΥ, BΩ,* and so on with *ΓA, ΔA,* &c., *ΨA* terminating this second course. The third is arranged for three letters, its object being the combination of each consonant with each of the seven vowels, successively followed by all the other consonants, as *BAB, BAΓ, BAZ, BAΘ, BAΔ,* up to *BAΨ*; the same operation being performed with each of the other consonants, which thus becomes the initial letter of the syllable.

We are unable to derive from this curious tablet anything more satisfactory than from the tragedy of Callias, but only incomplete evidence as to the order of the letters of the alphabet at the time it was written: it indicates, however, that the place and order of the consonants were then the same as at present, but it does not indicate the position of the vowels. *Ω* holds among them the last place, and in the syllables of three letters the final consonant *Z*

is employed in all the examples before Γ, although Γ is the third letter in our Greek alphabet, and Z the sixth.

In the family of alphabets of Syrian or Samaritan origin, as in the Phœnician and Greek alphabets, the letters are arranged as in the order of our modern alphabet. This system is common both to Europe and Western Asia, and yet cannot but spring from one root, like the alphabets themselves. The Arabic alphabet also enters into this system, notwithstanding the very different order in which the letters are placed, which is the work of modern grammarians, who have thus arranged it in order to bring together those letters which are similar in form, and differ only in expression, according to the number and place of their auxiliary points. The Ethiopian alphabet has the closest affinity with the Samaritan, or first alphabet of the Hebrews; it passed in the earliest times from Syria into Ethiopia, and yet it no longer retains, in the order of its letters, the least resemblance to the Samaritan alphabet, which was its type. Other alphabets, beyond the limits of classic countries, or belonging to nations whose origin is of the second or third descent, differ not less manifestly from the order of the letters generally received. Must we thence infer that this order is more ancient on this account? Such can hardly be affirmed to be the case; and the same thing may have happened with such alphabets, which has taken place in respect to the Indian alphabets; the letters of which, studied by Europeans, have been mechanically arranged in accordance with the order of the letters of the European alphabet. The result of this has been, that the real order in which each nation arranges the letters of its alphabet is unknown to us; for if we examine carefully these foreign alphabets arranged according to the European plan, we shall perceive that the most simple signs are not placed first, although we cannot but suppose that, in their invention, the more simple would precede those which are more complicated.

The question may, therefore, be asked, When, and in what country was the letter A invested with the privilege of the first place in the alphabet? Can this question be answered upon the principle, that the received order of the letters of the alphabet must be of the highest antiquity, because each letter possesses a numerical value, and that this value is derived from the position of each letter in the alphabet, arranged as we arrange it?

Still, this reasoning is not entirely exact, or of general application to all the alphabets; since in regard to some of them an anterior or different state existed, as compared with their actual condition. Thus, the letters of the Samaritan alphabet are also

numerals in Asia, but not in Africa; the Ethiopians do not employ the letters of their own alphabet as numbers, but those of the Greeks. If, at the period when the Ethiopians received the Samaritan alphabet, the letters of this alphabet already possessed a numerical value, they would doubtless have preserved to each letter both its sound and value as a cypher: this double function would, in fact, have compelled this people to employ an alphabetic and not a syllabic system, since the Samaritan vowels also possessed a numerical value. We may therefore conclude, that when the Samaritan alphabet was anciently carried into Ethiopia, its letters did not possess a numerical value; that the Samaritans and their scholars expressed their numbers by other signs; and that the attribution of numerical value to these letters took place in Asia, and did not pass into Ethiopia; whence it follows, that this numerical value of the letters of the ancient alphabets not being contemporary with their invention or earliest use, cannot prove that the letters were always arranged in their present order, nor that this order is itself of great antiquity.

The secondary alphabets afford evidence of this anterior state, in which signs existed both for the letters and for the numbers, signs, or words. There was, in fact, a time when the Greeks expressed their numbers by other signs, which were only the first letters of each of the words indicating a number in the written or spoken language; thus, *I* expressed *one*, being the initial of *ἷος, ἵα*, a word which has this meaning: *Π*, *five*, from *πέντε*; Δ, *ten*, from *Δέκα*; *H*, a *hundred*, from *Ἑκατὸν*; *X*, a *thousand*, from *Χιλία*; *M*, *ten thousand*, from *Μύρια*. With auxiliary figures, the value of these signs was increased, without any alteration in their form; and supposing (as we may confidently do) that this mode of writing numbers among the Greeks preceded the time when a numerical value was assigned to each letter of the alphabet, we may conclude from this similarity with the Samaritan alphabet in relation to the Ethiopians, that the letters of the Phœnician or Samaritan alphabet had not, in like manner, received the power of cyphers when this alphabet was imparted to the Greeks; and that the Greeks, if it had been otherwise, would not have failed to preserve both their sounds and numerical values; a plan certainly more convenient than that of the initial letters of words. Similar conclusions may be drawn from the Latin alphabet, since in Italy also the initials of words were employed to express numbers; for when the alphabet, of the same origin as the Greek, was given to it, its letters did not express numbers, and indeed never have done so. We must likewise inquire, whence in Greek writing were

derived those signs of numbers which are not letters, and which express 6, 90, 900? And, lastly, we may observe, that the numerical value of the letters could only have been given to them when the alphabet was completed, and extended to twenty-four letters; and that this final completion is posterior by ten centuries to the arrival of the Phœnician Cadmus in Greece.

Thus, neither the letters of the Greek or Latin alphabet possessed any numerical value when they were first given to these two nations; at the same time, and even previously, the Phœnician or Samaritan alphabet was only a system of the signs of sound, the numbers being otherwise expressed, most probably by the initial letters of their several names, as was afterwards the practice with the Greeks and Latins. This quality of numerical letters in the Oriental alphabets, as well as in that of the Greek, and all those of which it is the type, do not, therefore, establish the antiquity of the order in which the letters of these alphabets were arranged, and those derived from them.

Various reasons lead to the belief, that it is not very ancient: the manuscripts of the most ancient texts, those of the Pentateuch and Homer, if these cypher-letters are employed, will not disprove this conclusion, for these manuscripts can only be considered with reference to the age in which they were written, and there are none which are not much later than the Christian era.

If we now review the different facts which have been alleged relative to this question, we may reduce them into two propositions, supported by the testimony of monuments and by authorities of weight.

1. It was not until the time of Alexander, or his first successor in Egypt, that the letters of the Greek alphabet were invested with the novel property of numerical signs: in all the Greek inscriptions of anterior date, the quantities and dates were expressed by the initial letters of the words which indicate these numbers; in the monuments contemporary with these princes, or of a subsequent period, the quantities and dates are expressed by letters used as cyphers; it is therefore very probable, that science is indebted for this useful invention to the school of Alexandria, abounding both in mathematicians and astronomers.

2. When this was effected, the letters of the Greek alphabet were, in all probability, already ranged in the order in which their numerical value has retained them to the present day; but no proof can be derived from this conjecture in favor of the great antiquity of this order. The most ancient specimen of Greek writing engraved in the present work, with a certain date, is the

Letter of Dioscorides to Dorion, in which the date is expressed by numerical letters, and this document is of the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy Philadelphus (260 B.C.). Forty-three years earlier (303 B.C.), the coins of Ptolemy Soter already bear date in letters, L.KA, that is, the year 21.

What then, we may ask, was the influence of the ancient customs of Egypt, in respect to the expression of numbers by the Greek alphabet when complete? This cannot be determined with precision; yet it must be remarked, that the number of signs of sound in the Egyptian alphabet (to reckon only these) was so considerable, and these signs so varied in their origin compared with each other, that the people did not think of giving a numerical value to each of the signs of this alphabet ranged in a fixed series. In the perfected state in which it is known to us, the system of numerical signs of the Egyptian writing is composed, first, of figures, which are only the initial letters of the names of the numbers which each figure expresses; and secondly, of signs, which appear to be real cyphers, that is to say, of arbitrary and conventional form and value; but it is impossible to decide, whether from the period of their adoption as numerical signs they were real *numbers*, or simply *numeral letters*, as were the numerical signs of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Arabians*.

As regards even the influence of this new Greek arrangement upon the writing of contemporary Oriental nations, we cannot determine its amount, from the want of monuments; but the lapse of time has sufficed to arrange in the same symmetrical order the alphabets of every age, which are embraced within the circle of modern studies.

Having thus endeavoured to sketch the history of the invention of writing, and its several origins and diffusion among mankind, in the order which these origins have assigned to it, it has seemed to us to be possible as well as useful, to class the various notions brought together in the preceding summary into groups of analogous facts, which mutually approach each other by means of the original chain which binds them together. Families of alphabets may hence probably be established, each of which will occupy a place, according to its degree of relationship, in the General Table which comprehends the whole; in the same manner as families of peoples, creeds, and languages, have had their genealogists.

* Champollion le Jeune, *Grammaire Egyptienne*, ch. ix., p. 214.

GENERAL TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF WRITING.

The Arabic numerals indicate the genealogical affinity of each alphabet.

I. THE EGYPTIAN FAMILY ... { FIGURATIVE SIGNS ... ... / SYMBOLIC AND PHONETIC SIGNS COMBINED*.

The most ancient invention known,—four thousand years B.C., according to existing monuments. In use in ancient Egypt, and in the Nubian provinces subjected to Egypt, from the earliest period to the fifth or sixth century of the Christian Era, and to the introduction of the Coptic alphabet, which was derived from the Greek. According to traditions, collected by Diodorus Siculus, Egyptian writing had descended, with the population, from Ethiopia into Egypt.

* *The phonetic writing of Egypt influenced the formation of the Samaritan alphabet.* (Fam. V.)

II. THE CHINESE FAMILY ... { FIGURATIVE GROUPS ... ... / PHONETIC AND SYMBOLIC GROUPS COMBINED.

Another invention of an epoch posterior to that of the Egyptians,—three thousand years B.C., according to the Annals; the written monuments are less ancient.

1. CHINESE ... ... { 2. COCHIN-CHINESE. / 2. TONQUINESE. / 2. JAPANESE. / 2. COREAN.

III. THE INDIAN FAMILY ..... ALPHABETICAL SYSTEM. The earlier state unknown,—two thousand years or more B.C.; an epoch deduced from analogy.

1. DEVANAGARI ... { 2. ZEND—PEHLEVI—SASSANIDAN. / 2. PUNJAB (*at Lahore*). / 2. LANDJA (*at Nepaul*). / 2. TIBETAN .. { Dvoudjan (*square*) / Dvoumin (*cursive*) } ..... 3. SIAMESE. / 2. PALI-BIRMAN { round. / square. / 2. SIAMESE { Ancient. / Ordinary (bali). / 2. JAVANESE.

1. BENGALI.

Other isolated Indian alphabets.

1. TALINGA (*Dekkan*) { 2. TAMUL (*Coromandel*) ... ... / 2. GRANTAM ... ... / 2. GUZERAT ... ... } 3. MALABAR.

CINGALESE.

IV. THE BABYLONIAN FAMILY ... ... { Alphabetical system; all the signs derived from various combinations of a single element, shaped like a wedge or nail, and hence called the CUNEIFORM ALPHABET.

1. BABYLONIAN ... { 2. CHALDÆAN, or Cursive Cuneiform ..... 3. HEBREW after the Captivity. 4. RABBINICAL. / 2. Used in Persia. / 2. Used in Armenia.

V. THE SAMARITAN, OR PHŒNICIAN FAMILY ... { Purely alphabetical system,—more than 2,000 years B.C.

1. SAMARITAN ..... { 2. HEBREW before the Captivity. / 2. ETHIOPIAN.

1. SYRIAC ... ... { ESTRANGELO, / SABÆAN ... ... 2. OUIGOUR ... ... 3. TANGOU, MONGOL of Tibet. 4. MANCHU. / NESTORIAN.

2. ARABIC { Neskhi { 3. TURKISH.... ... ... 4. BERBERS of the Atlas. / 3. Modern PERSIAN. / 3. HINDUSTANI. / 3. MALAY. / 3. MADAGASH. / Cufic... { 3. MALAY. / 3. MADAGASH.

☞ ASIATIC ALPHABETS of modern and arbitrary invention.—ARMENIAN and GEORGIAN, both Majuscule and Cursive.

1. PHŒNICIAN ... { 2. PUNIC, in use at Carthage and the countries beneath its rule.

2. GREEK ... ... { 3. COPTIC. / 3. SLAVONIC { Cyrillian ... ... { 4. RUSSIAN. / 4. SERVIAN. / 4. MOLDAVIAN. / 4. BULGARIAN. / Hieronymian { Glagolitic. / Circular Glagolitic. / 3. MŒSOGOTHIC.

2. PELASGIC ... ... { 3. ETRUSCAN. / 3. VOLSCIAN. / 3. OSCAN, SAMNITE, &c. / 3. LATIN ... ... 4. ITALIAN, FRENCH, SPANISH, PORTUGUESE, ANGLO-SAXON, ENGLISH, IRISH, GERMAN, ICELANDIC, RUNIC, &c., of universal use in Europe, and the Colonies of the Old and New World.

VI. WRITINGS OF THE NEW WORLD, before the Conquests of the Europeans.

1. MEXICAN... ... ... { Sixth century of the Christian Era, according to tradition.—Figurative signs, or symbolic combined signs; *rebuses*, or figures expressing the syllable, which constitutes their name in the oral language. A Graphic System in the second degree of its progress to perfection.

1. TRIBES OF OCEANIA. Nearly savages.—Figurative signs; a simple delineation of objects, the first step in the invention of every kind of writing.

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The first view of so extended a table may appear startling, on account of the multitude of graphic processes, embracing an infinite variety of signs, varying still more in form and expression; and yet all these systems were instituted for the attainment of one and the same end, namely, that of rendering the thoughts visible to the eye and audible to the ear, and transmissible to any distance; in the first two families, by means of figurative signs, and in all the rest, by the assistance of simple letters, expressing the sounds of the voice.

In considering also the latter portion of this table, we cannot but render homage to the efforts made by the powerful minds of those who have strove to reduce to a satisfactory unity this lamentable diversity of signs, which have thrown such obstacles in the way of truth, and either by fortuitous or designed resemblance have so long retarded the progress of the comparative study of languages, and their etymological affinity, so important to their philosophical development, and consequently, the knowledge of their real origin, as well as of the characters employed in writing; fundamental principles, which, in referring each language to its true source, would enable us to study each group of languages at the same time, and thus to obtain (if it were possible to devote sufficient time to each) an universal knowledge of languages. To illustrate this proposition by an example, the study of the languages named Arabic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Chaldæan, might, to a certain extent, be reduced to the study of only one, and a knowledge of the alphabets of each of the others,—alphabets founded, for the most part, upon circumstances which have wholly passed away, but which nevertheless have given, and still continue to give, to each of the above-named languages an appearance of individuality, which they do not in reality possess, but which will subsist until this appearance shall vanish, and all these languages be written with the same alphabet, whereby it would at once be apparent, that they are merely dialects of one and the same mother-language, the Arabic. An able professor, who should occupy his scholars in this wide field of inquiry, explaining the rules of the mother-tongue, and the exceptions and peculiar characters of its dialects, might teach six languages, or rather an entire family of languages, at the same time.

An analogous idea, but of less easy execution, has been suggested, namely, the composition of an *universal alphabet*, or, at least, embracing all the languages of Europe. To succeed in such an undertaking it would be necessary to invent,—for it does not exist at present,—a series of signs, which should altogether repre-

sent (that is, call to mind without any confusion, and so be pronounced,) every sound, utterance, and articulation, employed in the oral use of every language of Europe. It has been asserted that the number of these alphabetic signs would not exceed fifty-four, so that it would only be necessary to invent this number. But what good would result therefrom? None is apparent. All the languages of Greek or Latin Europe are written with the letters of the two alphabets of the same name: the phonetic value of each of these letters is well known; and as to the sounds peculiar to certain languages, which these letters do not naturally express, (thus manifesting their insufficiency,) there are special signs for these peculiar sounds, which possess a well-understood value among those desirous of reading or speaking these languages. But there is still an indispensable step between the letters and the pronunciation, namely, oral tradition or instruction, which imparts to the ear and mouth of the student the true sound of these peculiar signs. There is no figured sign which is by itself capable of giving the conception and exact use of these sounds, without oral tradition, which a master alone is capable of affording.

The same idea of an universal alphabet of all the languages of the East has still less chance of success; and its difficulty would increase in proportion to the vast extent of the subject. Every attempt, indeed, proves such an enterprise to exceed the human powers, and although prompted by laudable motives, certain to incur failure. The study of ten distinct alphabets, each of thirty letters, does not present greater difficulties than the study of a single alphabet, consisting of 300 signs, expressing so many different sounds; and besides this, it would be as impossible to wrest from a nation, however small in numbers, its national alphabet, as its religion or its prejudices. The Arabs would never read the texts of their language, except in their own writing.

We may remark, in closing this subject, the manifest advantage afforded to the study and use of a strange language by the possession of an extensive and complicated national alphabet. The Latin language is written and pronounced by the aid of twenty-four letters, and the Greek, with the same number of signs, although its sounds are not precisely identical with those of the Latin. With this small number of letters, we are able to obtain a larger number of natural sounds, aspirated or guttural; but it is evident that the number of sounds would be still greater, if the alphabet in question contained a greater number of signs. If, therefore, an alphabet should exist, which combined all the sounds of all the languages in the world, it is perfectly certain that the

people employing it would be more able than any others to speak every foreign language. Now, the Russian alphabet consists of thirty-six letters, which by their regular modifications produce a far greater number of sounds of different kinds; and we may comprehend, by this simple fact, the aptitude of the Russians to speak without any national accent all the languages of Europe; their ear and tongue being beforehand brought to acquire, by the use of their own language, this singular aptitude, which is something more than a mere natural imitative talent.

But how many useful considerations may not be derived from the study of such a subject as the theory of writing, and the examination of its different systems of signs, especially at the present time, when men of the greatest learning have so deeply studied the intimate constitution of languages, and the marvellous operations of the human mind in organizing the use of speech given to man by his Creator, and materializing by signs his ideas and the sounds of his voice? It must not, then, be forgotten that in the great work which we have here undertaken, it is especially the last step of this vast and difficult subject that we propose to illustrate;—vast, indeed, for the use of writing has penetrated, often by unknown paths, into every region of the globe; and difficult, since the great variety in the writings testifies (as well as so many other monuments) to a corresponding variety in the dispersion and very different fortunes of the families of mankind.

If this subject, considered in its principal features, should appear in the present work to unite the merit of clearly-defined proportions with that of being minutely and carefully executed, and if each specimen represented in the Plates be also an evidence of the talent and integrity of their author, the latter will have attained the constant object of his exertions, and the sole aim of his labors during a period of ten consecutive years. M. Silvestre, in fact, after having conceived the general plan of the collection, weighed its difficulties, measured its extent, and calculated the amount of painful labor which its execution would entail on him, was not discouraged, but persevered in his resolution, and accomplished it in all its details; not having entrusted to any other person the least co-operation in a work, the real value of which he was aware must consist in the scrupulous fidelity not only of each fac-simile, but of each individual copy. Long research, and the reunion of all the requisite materials had previously preceded the publication of the work; the most celebrated libraries of Europe were visited, and numerous specimens were selected from their chief palæographical monuments, destined to occupy the places

in the series already marked out. With this important object in view, M. Silvestre visited these libraries, not as a tourist of new countries, merely out of curiosity, and who judges of the utility of his travels by the distance he has accomplished, but as a well-informed person, animated by a motive interesting alike to arts and letters, which, as it seemed to him, could never demand from his zeal either too much time or labor.

With such praiseworthy sentiments, M. Silvestre visited Naples, Rome, Bologna, Florence, and Venice, as well as Vienna, Munich, Carlsruhe, Heidelberg, &c. Everywhere he was received with the greatest attention and encouragement; nor did he meet even with disappointment without compensation; for the kind and paternal reception which he experienced from the venerable Benedictines of the monastery of La Cava completely effaced the coolness of the librarian at Naples. The kindness of his Holiness Pope Gregory XVI. opened to him the most secret literary treasures of Rome; their Excellencies the Cardinals Bernetti, Mai, and Mezzofanti, lent him all the weight of their names in carrying out the intentions of the venerable pontiff; and M. Capaccini, the Under-Secretary of State, the Major-duomo Fieschi, with the librarians Laureani and Delfuria, added to all these advantages the marks of an unceasing and obliging attention. Everywhere the keepers of the public libraries shewed themselves most anxious to assist him in his useful undertaking, and his thanks are publicly due to MM. Veggeti of Bologna, D. Pietro Bettio and Gamba, of Venice, to Count Maurice de Dietrichstein, and De Gevay of Vienna; to M. Nobile, Director of the Imperial Academy of Architecture of the same city; to Baron Klenz and M. Schmeller, of Munich; and lastly, to M. Kopitar, whose works have rendered familiar in the southern regions of Europe a knowledge of the languages and writings of the great northern race of the Slavonians.

The libraries of France, and especially of Paris, have not been less open and liberal to M. Silvestre,— as, indeed, they are to all. France preserves and increases her literary institutions with a generous perseverance,—it is at once her duty and her glory to do so.

It will be perceived from the list of Plates, placed at the beginning of the work, in what manner so many precious materials have been classed and employed in order to give a general historical view of the art of writing, and the genealogy of each of its branches, and to shew, that with each people, whether inventors or copyists, the variations in the use of writing were contemporary with those of its social state. Political and religious doctrines created alphabets, as they did systems of policy or liturgies: to this history

bears ample testimony, some of which are recorded in our historical notices, in which we could not wholly omit to mention those great events in human annals which have conveyed languages and writing, together with their wars and creeds, from one continent to another. The study of these two institutions to be effective must not be separated; and if we have ventured to approach so intricate a subject, respecting which such opposite opinions have been received, we have done so in taking for our guides the distinguished scholars who have already treated on such subjects, and whose sentiments we have preferred giving, rather than our own.

In conclusion, no literary subject can be suggested which is more fruitful in conjectures truly historical, than that of the general history of language and writing; no branch of human knowledge has presented itself under so many different points of view to the controversy of mankind. The subject is immense, and eminently philosophical, since it bears within itself the germs of so many errors and truths, yet is nevertheless a sublime manifestation of the power of the human intellect, ever striving to associate in one common object the most opposite elements, intelligence and matter, and to give sensible forms to the thoughts by language, the immediate sign of ideas, and by writing, equally the sign both of ideas and language. On this union, which is proof against barbarism, will ever be based the progress of the understanding, of the social arts, and of public happiness.

Paris, December 15, 1841.

CORRIGENDA IN THE TEXT.

VOL. I., *p.* 21, *l.* 27, *for* descendant *read* descendants.
p. 81, *l.* 27, *for* 750 *read* 750—1.
p. 223, *l.* 17, *for* to affirm—beyond this *read* to affirm with certainty beyond this.
p. 255, *l.* 9 *for* thereafter *read* hereafter.
VOL. II., *p.* 430, *l.* 37, *n.*, *for* notes *read* holes.
p. 585, *l. ult.*, *for* Cagstellana *read* Castellana.
p. 626, *l.* 28, *n.*, *for* resemble *read* resembles.
p. 640, *add* Ed. at the end of the second foot-note.
p. 646, *for* confirmation *read* information.
p. 733, *l.* 23, *for* Gotnic *read* Gothic.

CORRIGENDA IN THE PLATES.

(Exclusive of the Corrections pointed out in the Notes.)

XXVII. *for* X^{e} *read* XIe.
LXXIV., LXXV., *for* Aréopagistas *read* Aréopagite.
LXXIX. *for* XIe *read* X^{e}.
CXVIII. *for* VIIe *read* VIIIe.
CXX. *for* Wandrigisile *read* Vandrille.
CLVI. *for* commencement du XVIe, *read* XVe.
CLIX. *for* Président *read* Conseiller.
CLX. *for* Cludii *read* Claudii, *and add* Geographia.
CLXXXIII. *for* Italien *read* Français.
CXCIV. *for* Milieu *read* Fin.
CXCV. *for* XIVe. *read* XIVe. et XVe.
CXCVII. *for* Copie d'une Quittance *read* Quittance.
CCXII. *for* Bibliothèque *read* Bibliothèques.
CCXXII. *for* Moralium *read* Moralia.
CCXXIII. *for* Isaii *read* Isaie.
CCXXXVI. *dele* Milieu de, *and for* Hollandais *read* Flamand.
CCXLIII. *for* de *read* ayant appartenu à.
CCXLVII. *for* Poëme en langue Saxonne *read* Paraphrase de l'Evangile, en vers Théotisques.
CCXLVI. *for* weitberhüembten Maters Hundrüoz *read* weitberühmten malers handruss.
CCXC. *for* nuance *read* écriture.

PART I.

ORIENTAL WRITING.

PLATES I.—IV.

CHINESE WRITING.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FRAGMENTS OF VARIOUS WRITINGS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

THE graphic system of one of the most ancient civilized nations of the world, will form the subject of the present notice, which, in order to do justice to its historical and philosophical importance, must necessarily be of some extent.

For nearly five thousand years the Chinese have practised the art of writing. They invented this sublime art for themselves; they have modified and perfected it, it is true, at various periods, but without ceasing to be mindful of the principles which regulated its primitive invention. The system, however, generally practised in our time for public writings, and preferred above all others since the period of its invention, nearly two thousand years ago, is materially altered from its original constitution.

We cannot but observe, that, in its actual state, the Chinese writing reveals, in every page and line, a nearly absolute want of a general system, and, in its successive changes, bears testimony to the isolation of the men who devoted their labor to its improvement, and the want of unity or power in the authority, which left these partial reforms to establish themselves as they might; and thence has resulted a collection of rules and practice, in which the most opposite principles are sometimes preserved, the critic being forced to recognize, in

some, the fruits of a happy perception, which has brought into perfect connexion the sign and the thought, and in others, the employment of meagre, rude, erroneous, arbitrary, or even irrational means, in the determination of the direct or indirect relation of the word in the language with the object which it designates, of the idea with the sign, which is its figured manifestation.

Divided from each other by the whole continent of Asia, two primitive nations, the Egyptians and Chinese, separately invented the art of writing, and brought it gradually to a certain degree of perfection. The monuments of this mighty mental labor still exist, and exhibit to us its definite state, with its various phases; and we are compelled to acknowledge, that it is still the same system, which, although for many ages acquainted with modern Europe, and its industrial arts carried to such a degree of perfection, has remained incapable, as it were, of a second effort, shut up within the narrow and barren limits of the former; having introduced scarcely any new additions, and these moreover irregular or out of place, without proportion or analogy, generally contrary to all unity, and very often destroying a principle, good in itself, by idle exceptions. Such is the graphic system of the Chinese, considered as a whole, since the period of its invention in the time of Fo-Hi, about the year 2950 before the Christian era, up to the present time.

From the epoch of the construction of the pyramids of Memphis, about two thousand years before Fo-Hi, the graphic system of the Egyptians, entirely similar in its origin and in the form of its original signs to that of the Chinese, was complete and perfect. Up to the period of the destruction of Egypt by the Arabs, this system was sufficient for one of the most active and most powerful civilizations, either material or intellectual, which the world has ever seen; and the learned of Europe in the nineteenth century recognize as ingenious, logical,

rational, and consequently useful, the steps to perfection which this system underwent during the interval between the time of its invention, and the period when the advanced state of the social system in Egypt had completed it.

Europe, learned as it is, would not have acted otherwise than Egypt, the inventor of such a system of figurative writing, has done, six or seven thousand years ago. At that period, Egypt had carried her system of writing to perfection; at the present day China is still far distant from it; she knows not, in fact, of what improvement she stands in need, and will not consequently effect it.

We willingly admit the real merits of the Chinese, the patient labors of their peaceful industry, their inventions, at all times useful to Europe, the priority of their knowledge in regard to the polarity of the loadstone, explosive powder, printing from wooden blocks, and various other arts, which the careful study of their manners has proved them to have been acquainted with; but, in respect to the still more important object, as regards their social advancement, their system of writing, China has remained far behind Egypt, which not only in a like manner invented this art, but also in a higher degree perfected it. The exposition of the principles of Chinese writing can only lead to this conclusion; yet its comparison with the writing of the Egyptians exhibits several very striking analogies, in points of resemblance hitherto unnoticed, and which, in some measure, are sufficient to refute the theories generally received, as to the Chinese system.

According to some authorities, China did not invent her system of writing, but received it from some other nation, the name of which has not been mentioned. Such a theory appears to be attended with considerable difficulties; since it is an evident condition, that the Chinese, who at first employed a figurative writing, could only have received it from a nation

practising the same system. But what other nation is there in Asia, which fulfils this condition, and which had so far preceded the Chinese in the degree of civilization inferred by the want of the art of writing? It is true, we only know India as possessing an alphabetical system, so that she must at first have either invented a figurative writing, which she subsequently abandoned, or have received the alphabetical system from a nation, which had had time to arrive at such a system before India herself; but in either case we must take into account, how much time was necessary for either of the two nations to reach this point.

According to the Chinese, and what they have recorded as to the origin of their writing, we must suppose that they adopted the successive use of knotted cords, notched pieces of wood, trigrams, and signs derived from the traces left by the feet of birds in wet earth; and that after these rude methods they arrived at a real writing, according to the general acceptation of the word, which means the art of rendering, by the aid of signs, thoughts and words sensible to the eyes and understanding. From this point we may proceed with certainty in the history of writing among the Chinese.

Their earliest characters consisted of the figures of the objects, of which they desired to express the idea. This initial step is common to them with the Egyptians, the Mexicans, and all other nations and individuals who have desired to designate by a sign any material object; all have traced the portrait by its outline. Those learned persons who have felt surprise at the discovery of this analogy between the Egyptian and Chinese writing, are precisely in the same position as the man, who should be astonished that the same figure was employed to represent a horse at Paris and Rome, at Memphis, Pekin, or Timbuctoo! We need scarcely remark how idle are the conclusions derived from such an observation, as to the supposed common origin and identity of the people

of such different countries, simply because they have figured by means of the same strokes the representation of the same object.

The analogy between the earliest writing of the Chinese and Egyptians is a fact immaterial therefore with reference to the origin of these two peoples, which are of different races; the uniformity in the proceeding is the only thing worthy of remark in the history of their institutions. But was it possible for them to have taken any other first step?

As to the priority of the invention, it cannot be denied to Egypt; the Chinese do not quote, even traditionally, any monument which can approach in antiquity the inscriptions on the pyramids of Memphis.

Having thus noticed the existence of this primary and identical step in the practice of writing among the Egyptians and Chinese, it is worthy of our curiosity to inquire into the subsequent progress, and to learn how the very different genius of these two celebrated nations advanced beyond this first graphical movement, and brought it to perfection, in proportion to the wants of its progressive civilization, and the workings of its own peculiar genius.

It may be affirmed without hesitation, that Egypt proceeded in a strictly logical manner; she was rationally progressive, and either from a more real advance in the philosophical sciences, or from a greater perfection in the constitution of the national language, her system of writing, without laying aside the use of its primitive signs, is found in its complete state at once simple, regular, intelligible by all, absolute in its rules, and sufficient for all the wants of a people advanced to the highest state of civilization.

On the contrary, in its actual state, which is the most perfect, these qualities are not found to the same degree in the writing of the Chinese; there are, as it were, evident marks in it of that weakness which characterizes all the inven-

tions of the genius of this nation of *aged infants*. Some observations in reference to the exposition of certain details will better illustrate our meaning.

In the specimen, No. 1, of Plate I., are delineated twenty-four signs of the primitive Chinese writing; they are all *figurative*, that is, they express the simple ideas of the objects of which they are the portraits, and consist of the figures of men, animals, furniture, and houses. With the exception of three, which express a complex idea, namely, the signs *father*, *son*, and *nephew*, all these signs indicate to the mind the object of which they are delineations or outlines. To paint or to express the *same ideas* the Egyptians employed the *same signs*.

The use of these signs, of which the outline ought to be regular, so as to constitute a real picture, would require some study of the art of design; but as an entire nation could neither be taught to draw, nor to abstain from writing, in China a linear trace of the figure was allowed, but somewhat abridged, and with some irregularities; which owing to the greater facility in combining its lines, rendered the use of this figurative writing more general to a greater number of persons. Specimens of this second form of these figurative signs are to be found in No. 2 of Plate I. Egypt did not proceed otherwise, and the two kinds of Chinese signs above described exactly correspond with those forms of Egyptian writing, which are termed *pure* hieroglyphics and *linear* hieroglyphics.

We may easily conceive how arbitrary or negligent details would be introduced in the usage of these linear signs. The first column of Plate II. furnishes instances in China, whilst in Egypt they are to be met with in manuscripts and inscriptions intended for the lower classes, or executed by unskilful hands.

In China these *figurative* and isolated characters also

served, when *combined together*, to express complex and metaphysical ideas. Examples of these combinations occur in No. 2 of Plate II.; thus an *ear* between *two folding doors* expresses *to hear, to understand;* a *mouth* and a *bird* signifies *to sing;* a *woman*, a *hand*, and a *broom*, designates *a married woman;* the *sun* above a *tree* means *to burn.* This combination of figurative signs, to attain the same object, was similar and not less common in Egyptian writing: the *heaven* and a *star* signified *night;* a *man* carrying a *whip* expressed the idea *to guard* or *conduct*, &c.

Taking for granted the acceptation of the various signs which compose the whole system of the figurative writing of the Chinese, they may readily be distributed into several classes, comprehending the *indicative* signs, or signs of number, and *metaphorical*, comprehending the signs of material objects, which being metaphorically or allusively separated from their physical sense, have become attached to the expression of moral or metaphysical ideas; and all these signs, whatever may be the number of classes into which they are distributed, will find a place perfectly analogous in the much less sub-divided nomenclature of the signs, which in the Egyptian writing are comprehended under the denominations of *figurative*, *symbolical*, or *symbolico-figurative.* We also find signs which the Chinese call *turned backwards* or *inverted*, and which written in the contrary direction from that of the other signs in the same phrase, express by their reverse position the contrary of their natural sense. So, in Egyptian writing, the figure of a man walking in the direction of the other signs of the phrase, indicates *to go*, but if he is represented walking in a contrary direction, the figure signifies *to return.*

With more or less of caprice or ingenuity, or with more or less real science or reserve in the invention of the means whereby metaphysical ideas were written with the sign-

portraits of physical objects, the process was the same in Egypt and in China; both being restricted to the use of figurative or symbolical signs, and neither being yet acquainted with the *phonetic* signs of sounds.

The necessity of this important advance towards perfection was, however, perceived in both countries. Did Egypt at once arrive at the perfection exhibited in her most ancient monuments, or, as in China, was her first step very insufficient, requiring subsequent advancement, before she arrived at the extreme limits of this inappreciable state of perfection? As made known to us in her most ancient monuments, the perfection of the phonetic mode of writing is of the highest antiquity in Egypt; there is no trace of a less perfect attempt. In the more modern monuments of China, the imperfection of the other invention is exhibited in a manner not less manifest; and it is from this point that we can trace the vast differences which are to be noticed in the progressive march of the two systems of Chinese and Egyptian writing, hitherto approaching to each other by such real, or rather inevitable resemblances, which in China, as in Egypt, consisted of figured signs, which are read with as much certainty as our books in Europe, each group of written signs corresponding to a word in the spoken language, expressing by its sound the same idea as this group of signs.

When, therefore, a learned Chinese scholar has stated, that this people, in endeavouring to express by writing *the sounds* of the language, adopted a very ingenious process, (the *only one*, perhaps, which could present itself to their minds,) he doubtless desired indulgent critics to forgive the Chinese for having, in this grave operation, invented a *syllabic system* instead of an *alphabet*, and, what is still more irrational, a syllabic system composed of a series of signs with double meanings, which delineate an *idea* in one phrase, and express phonetically a *syllable* in another phrase.

The Chinese language is monosyllabic, and the Egyptian is formed on the same principle. The Egyptians therefore, as well as the Chinese, might assert, that in order to write the word *Rô-mi* (man) for instance, they should employ the figure of a *mouth*, named *Rô* in the spoken language, and that of a *lioness*, *Mie*, which to the ear would pronounce the word *Rô-mi*, signifying *a man;* and with the strict understanding that these two signs, which here phonetically represent the sounds *Rô-mi*, should not cease elsewhere to represent figuratively the ideas of *mouth* and *lioness*. Such was the incoherent phonetic improvement introduced into the Chinese system of writing.

Egypt went still further; she decomposed the syllables of her language into isolated *letters*, and gave to each voice or articulation one or more special fixed signs, all proceeding on the same principle, consisting equally of figurative signs, but which thenceforward *lost* their figurative quality, and became exclusively *phonetic;* for if by necessity they resumed at any time their figurative character, they were marked by two *auxiliary signs*, which at once indicated the change, and preserved anew, as it were, their phonetic nature.

In China, on the contrary, the troublesome effects of a want of a regular nomenclature of the syllabic groups were soon perceived; the same syllable was not always expressed by the same group; a choice was made of arbitrary or hastily-adopted signs; and the same group was made to express different syllables. Much confusion and irregularity arose from this first invention, which has no title to be considered "comme le *plus ancien essai* de l'art d'écrire, dont aucune nation nous ait conservé l'intelligence;" this is certainly a mistake, since the Egyptian *alphabet* existed on original monuments thousands of years before the shapeless Chinese *syllabic system.*

The latter long remained in this insufficient and confused

state, until another more analytically inventive genius put a stop, by a very simple process, to such irregularity and confusion. In regard to this fact (from the effect of an analogy to be subsequently noticed), the opinion of M. Abel-Rémusat may be adopted, when he observes, "Les classes nombreuses des caractères *hîng-ching* (ou de son) se sont trouvées décomposées suivant un procédé précisément *inverse* de celui qui avait servi à leur formation."* There are in reality in the Chinese language many things named by homophonous words; how then can we distinguish one from another, or clearly individualize all that may be expressed by the syllable *li* or any other? This is effected by adding to the *phonetic* group *li* another group entirely *figurative*, expressing the idea of the class of objects to which the object *li* naturally belongs, which figurative group thus becomes a very fit *generic* sign to prevent any confusion of words, and all doubt in the expression of the phonetic sign.

But what else are the *determinative* signs employed in Egyptian writing, than the *generic* signs of the Chinese? In Egypt at the end of *phonetic* groups, expressing the names of quadrupeds, was written the *figure* of the lower half of an ox-hide; at the end of all the names of birds, the figure of a goose; at the end of all the names of reptiles, the figure of a serpent; at the end of the names of trees, the figure of a tree; at the end of names of materials for building, that of a stone, &c. This is precisely the value of the generic signs of the Chinese writing, for the word *li* and the figure of *a tree* signify a pear-tree; *ki* and *a tree*, an osier; *peï* and *a tree*, a wooden bowl; *pa* and *a tree*, a wooden handle; *pe* and *a tree*, a cypress; *ken* and *a tree*, the root of a tree: so *ki* and *a bird* signify a duck; *ya* and *a bird*, a raven; *hong* and *a bird*, a goose; and in this small number of instances we find

* *Elémens de la Grammaire Chinoise*, p. 9, 8vo., Par., 1822.—Ed.

an apposite example in the word *ki*, twice cited with two very opposite significations; and it is by means of its *generic* or *determinative* sign, *a tree* in one place and *a bird* in another, that we are informed that *ki* in one place means an osier, and in the other a duck. (See Plate II., No. 3, after the horizontal line.) In like manner, in Egyptian, the determinative sign of a *goose* teaches us whether the group (HB) indicates the bird *ibis* or a *plough*.

In the Egyptian writing the determinative sign is usually placed *after* the phonetic group; in the Chinese it is placed either *before* or *after*, above or below; but out of 240 of these signs, 85 are invariably placed *after* the phonetic groups, and at least an equal number indifferently *before* or *after*. If the same irregularity were introduced into the use of the Egyptian signs, their expression would not be less clear nor less certain, than that of the Chinese signs under the same conditions. Even if we adopt the views of the lexicographers, who endeavour to reduce all the phonetic groups to a generic root, with a view to a supportable classification, (not forgetting Hiu Chin, the author of the first essay of this kind; who, in the year 121 of the Christian era, reduced 133,441 words to 9,353 fundamental classical characters, which he arranged under 540 radicals: a variable number, subsequently reduced to 329, and finally to 214, named *keys*,) and arrange, in like manner, the phonetic Egyptian groups in the order of their *determinative* signs, we shall obtain an Egyptian dictionary in the order of *keys*, similar to the Chinese dictionaries.

The phonetico-figurative groups of the Chinese writing represent, moreover, the greater portion of the words of the language; and it is the same with the phonetic determined writing of the Egyptians. Certain Chinese groups are referred to a *key*, of which the direct or indirect relation to the thing expressed by the sign of sound is unknown; the traditions

are lost, and we may easily therefore comprehend on this point, and on others, that in the general theory of the figurative Chinese writing, it is necessary to consult those able guides who have in their works best explained the general principles of the writing and language of China.

The specimens collected in Plates I. and II., refer to the first state of Chinese writing. The state in which its signs were figurative, independent of their expression, is shewn in Plate I., No. 1; their first simplification by the use of linear signs, in Plate I., No. 2, and Plate II., No. 1; and their still greater simplification or earliest degradation, in which the writing more evidently departs from the figurative linear signs, in Plate II., Nos. 2 and 3. We cannot venture to compare this new species of writing with the hieratic Egyptian, except in regard to their common object; since the hieratic writing is also an abbreviation, a tachygraphy of the figured writing; but the abridged Egyptian appears in transcription to have been made with greater reserve,—an evident advantage, probably resulting from the originality and age of the monuments on which our judgment is founded.

After this first degradation in China, various others still more unfortunate followed; the regular forms of the figurative writing were corrupted by degrees; their principal outlines were deformed; the use of paper, ink, and pencil was generally introduced, facilitating more and more the alteration of the ancient signs, and the invention of new ones; their combinations became more easy to delineate, and the number of groups of writing was augmented to 100,000; at the same time that by the use of new forms they became distinct from the originals, from which they derived their real signification.

The most able Chinese scholars who have studied these different species of writing, have classed them, either according to their age, or according to the forms which constitute

their essential character, numerous specimens of which are brought together in Plates III. and IV.

The specimen No. 1, in Plate III., is named *chouèn;* it is considered to be older than the time of Confucius, and to have been in use from the third to the seventh century before the Christian era. This kind of writing affects generally a square form, and is composed of rectangular lines*. It is usually employed for seals, used instead of signatures.

The specimen No. 2, of the same Plate, is a variety of this kind of *chouèn* writing, composed of straight and doubled strokes, the invention of which is attributed to the Minister Li-sse, about the year 210 B.C. On the right hand side of each *chouèn* group of Li-sse is added its equivalent in modern Chinese writing.

The specimen No. 3 in Plate III. nearly approaches the actual form of modern writing. This kind of writing is called *li*, or official, and is said to have been invented in the second century B.C., in order to replace the *chouèn* writing; it is large and massive, and is sometimes used for the printing of prefaces.

The first example in Plate IV. is a kind of writing absolutely cursive; rendered very difficult to read from the number of ligatures. Its invention is referred to the first century of the Christian era, and it is employed in the prefaces of books, and for inscriptions on screens, fans, sticks of ink, verses, &c.

The example No. 2 of the same Plate exhibits another very complicated minuscule tachygraphic kind of writing; at the side of which are the same groups, according to the sense, in ordinary writing.

Lastly, in Plate IV. No. 3, are represented three lines of the square writing used in printing, taken from some of the finest

* This description is applicable rather to the *second* kind of *chouèn* writing, in No. 2, since the lines of the characters in No. 1 are all more or less rounded.—Ed.

specimens brought from China. In general, the groups are tall rather than broad, and the thin strokes not being disproportionate, facilitate the reading of the printed texts of this kind of writing.

There exist, moreover, a considerable number of other kinds of Chinese writing, since the idle activity of the inhabitants has often been exercised in inventing systems which lasted only for a day, but of which a considerable number of specimens have been preserved. The Panegyric of the city of Mougden* was written in thirty-two different kinds of characters, by order of the Emperor Kien-Lung; but the greater part of these characters were pure inventions.

We may here notice some of the fundamental principles of Chinese writing. The groups which compose a word, a phrase, or a line, are written beneath each other in vertical columns;—the Egyptians also wrote their hieroglyphical groups in the same manner, without however dispensing with the use of horizontal lines. The vertical columns of the Chinese groups are placed from right to left; in Egypt, the columns are arranged indifferently from right to left or from left to right, and their order is determinedby observing towards which side are turned the figures of men and animals employed in these groups; it is on this side that the first column is situated.

It is true that the Chinese writing actually in use, from which all figures have disappeared, approaches nearer to the hieratic Egyptian than to the hieroglyphic; but it is requisite to add, that the hieratic character is also written from right to left like the Chinese, and that its vertical columns are likewise placed, without exception, from right to left, when the writing is in this form, which occurs, however, very rarely. In

* Published by Dr. J. Hager, at the end of the *Monument de Yu*, fol., Par., 1802.—Ed.

inscriptions, the Chinese writing is also arranged, like the hieratic Egyptian, in horizontal lines, in which the characters proceed in like manner from right to left.

In regard to the Chinese language, it is divided into the ancient or *ku-wen*, and the modern, or *kuân-hua*, which embraces a great number of dialects within the vast range of the Chinese dominions. The exposition of the peculiarities which the constitution of their language permits, is here unnecessary; but if it were carried out to its full extent, it might be possible to derive from it some important considerations relative to the reciprocal influence of tongues and writing, as well as to the influence of both on the civilization of the nations by whom they are used.

PLATE V.

JAPANESE WRITING.

XVIIIᵀᴴ AND XIXᴴᵀ CENTURIES.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS.

THE accounts of modern travellers in Asia have given us a general and sufficiently extensive notion of the countries forming the vast empire of Japan, governed by an emperor or *kubo*, and by a high priest or *dairi*, residing as supreme chiefs in two cities apart from each other. Considered as a cultivated language, and possessing a rich literature, the peculiar idiom of the Japanese forms a special branch, distinct from all the other branches used in the Trans-Gangetic regions of India; and the Chinese influence appears evident in their institutions, language, and writings.

The earliest historical notices concerning Japan are made

to extend back to the seventh century B. C., at which time it is generally supposed that the intervention of the Chinese had already taken place. In the year 209 B. C., one of their Emperors sent to Japan, to search for a medical formula which would insure immortality. It appears, however, notwithstanding the frequent intercourse of the Chinese with the Japanese, that the former kept the knowledge of writing secret; and it was not until the third century of the Christian era, that the Japanese obtained any idea of the art. They have assigned divine honors to Vo-Nin, a learned Chinese, who communicated to them its utility and practice, and the Chinese writing was thenceforth adopted in Japan.

Notwithstanding the immense graphical richness of this system of writing, it proved insufficient to write the Japanese language; or rather, it may be said, that this very richness was a real source of embarrassment, and a great obstacle to the use of writing becoming so general, as was required by the state of Japanese civilization. The construction of their language was, indeed, different from that of the Chinese; a system of purely ideographical signs did not well suit them; yet they might have observed in the Chinese writing the facility with which the signs of sounds were employed, and the simplicity of their functions, and thence have desired no other. They therefore wrote the words of the Japanese language with the phonetic signs of the Chinese writing, whether understood or not, well or ill arranged, and even more or less altered in pronunciation; taking also occasionally for the phonetic sign of a Japanese syllable, *ki* for instance, a figurative Chinese sign, that of *a tree*, because its name is *ki* in Japanese, although the Chinese sign should have been pronounced *mou*. This first *syllabic* system of the Japanese consisted of more than 350 Chinese signs, taken thus almost at random.

Time, however, brought a remedy; the idea of abridging

this series of signs, and of applying them more especially to the representations of the sounds of the Japanese language, must necessarily have arisen, from the desire of being both clear and brief. In the first half of the eighth century, a noble of the empire, named Ki-bi, according to tradition, reduced all the sounds of the Japanese language into a series of forty-seven, thoroughly distinct; and abridging the complicated forms of an equal number of Chinese characters into as many signs easily to be traced, he assigned one to each of the forty-seven sounds of the language, and invented a Japanese *syllabary* of forty-seven signs, to which he gave the name of *Kata-kana*, semi-letters, or signs of denomination. From this period Japan has possessed the full use of syllabic, so nearly approaching to alphabetic, writing. This syllabary *Kata-kana* was subsequently employed by placing its signs at the side of the Chinese characters, the use of which was preserved (as at present) for works of a serious nature; signs which regulated the sounds of those characters, and also those of the grammatical forms peculiar to the Japanese language.

But the Japanese did not confine themselves to this first invention. After the noble Ki-bi succeeded the bonze Ko-bo, "the great master of doctrine, whose pencil dipped in the Aurora, transmitted light," who invented a new syllabary, especially fitted for writing all the sounds of the Japanese language. This was a very cursive kind of writing, called *Fira-kana*, that is, equal or extended, a real tachygraphy or abbreviation of the Chinese signs; a method, however, always to be reprobated, since being traced with a brush, there resulted a great variation in the place and form of the ligatures, and much confusion in the prompt determination of the value of the signs of this new syllabary, which was, like the former, reduced to the number of forty-seven.

The Plate V. contains specimens of three different kinds of Japanese writing. The first which was in use in Japan, is

the Chinese, examples of which will be found in the Plates appropriated to this kind of writing. That called *Kata-kana* may be seen in No. 3 of the present Plate, the signs of which are isolated, and ranged in vertical columns, written from right to left like the Chinese; the phrases being separated by dots.

The specimen No. 2 is an example of the writing named *Fira-kana*, the linear complication of which is perfectly forbidding, but written also in columns, from right to left.

Lastly, No. 1 presents a comparative table of several signs of the *Fira-kana* syllabary with the Chinese characters, of which the Japanese signs are in reality the abbreviations. It will be seen, that the Japanese abbreviations which are the most unlike the Chinese characters, are precisely those which represent the most intricate signs, and where consequently it was necessary to have recourse to more arbitrary forms.

These fac-similes are copied from Japanese books in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

PLATE VI.

MANCHU WRITING.

XVIIITH CENTURY.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS.

Few persons unconnected with scientific pursuits are perhaps aware, that there exists a great country named Manchuria, the inhabitants of which are called Manchus, and belong to the Tungusian family, which is a branch of the Tartar race.

This methodical classification, which is the result of the most recent researches, as to the nomadic nations of Asia,

both ancient and modern, which since the commencement of the world have played so important a part in all its social revolutions, has been of great use towards the right understanding of the causes of these revolutions, and the synonymical determination of such of these nations as are now known under a different name from that which they bore in the annals of ancient times. From the Scythians of the highest antiquity we are enabled by the aid of historical data generally admitted, even by the most scrupulous criticism, to trace the line to the Tartars, their descendants and our contemporaries. It is necessary, however, always to distinguish between the East and the West, and to note their colors; leaving to the West its fair and white Caucasian and Mahometan race, the Turkish race; and to the East its yellow dwarfish inhabitants, thickset and nearly beardless, the Manchus, Mongols, Tungusians, and Calmucs, who are generally worshippers of Buddhism. The Turkish tribe has succeeded to Cyrus, Constantine, and Tamerlane; and the Tungusian tribe to the ancient Chinese dynasties.

The Mongols form part of this tribe, and this name, which was at first merely that of the most celebrated of the small nations of the same origin, which were first united under Zinghis-Khan, has become common, by the influence of this nation, to others, which speak also a Mongolian language.

The Manchus or united tribes of Manchuria, became distinguished from the close of the sixteenth century, and towards the middle of the seventeenth they took possession of the throne of China, placing on it the young Shun-chy, whose descendant still continue to occupy it. It is the writing of the Manchus of China, which is represented in the Plate. It is admitted, that the Manchu language is much inferior to the Chinese; it is, however, regular to such a degree, that each word has its fixed place in a sentence; all the phrases are therefore cast in the same mould, so that there is no room either for taste or euphony.

Since the sway of the Manchus in the empire of China, their language, which is that of the Government and the Court, has been singularly enriched; Chinese civilization must, in fact, have given both ideas and words to the barbarian Manchus, and a great number of Chinese words would easily be introduced into the idiom of the conquerors. The susceptibility, however, of the Tartar Emperor was offended; Kien-Lung loved not the intrusive terms, and he commanded a committee of Manchus to compose, by the help of the radicals of their own language, 5000 words, to take the place of the same number of Chinese words, which had been innocently adopted up to that period. This new nomenclature was printed, published, and circulated, and the functionaries were ordered to use it to the exclusion of the Chinese words, under severe penalties. None but a Tartar reigning over Chinese, could be powerful enough to introduce at once, by imperial ordonnance, five thousand words into a language!

The Manchus, however, are not forbidden to study and translate Chinese books; and they have largely availed themselves of this permission, by transferring into their own language all the classic works of China. They have also translated various works from the Sanscrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian. The construction of their language is inverted, but sufficiently provided with grammatical signs, to be regular and logical in its phraseology, so that the Manchu translations are considered valuable for the study of the languages from which they have been made.

The Manchus received their alphabet from the Mongols, who themselves received it from the Ouïgours. Its derivation from the Syriac is not to be doubted*, the Nestorians having imparted it to the Ouïgours; and its use has been carried back to the immediate successors of Zinghis-Khan. The

* See Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, ch. ii., pp. 29, 46, 4to. Par., 1820.—Ed.

Manchus carried it with them into China, and it is written in vertical columns, arranged from left to right. In speaking of the Mongolian alphabet, we have observed how greatly the alphabets derived from the Syriac differ from their original type; but the Manchus cannot plead for this departure from the primitive type, the influence of Chinese writing, since the latter, although disposed in vertical columns, is arranged from right to left.

In the specimen No. 1 is given a page of a Chinese text, accompanied by a Manchu translation; the first of these is formed of groups of figures which occupy but little room; this is the Chinese writing, figurative and symbolical. The other is the Manchu, which being entirely alphabetical, requires greater space.

The specimens Nos. 2 and 3, are varieties of the Manchu writing alone, taken from works printed in China during the last century; the fidelity of which merits the entire confidence of the reader.

The Manchu writing consists of a syllabary rather than an alphabet; it comprises six vowels and eighteen consonants, to which are added nine other signs, invented for writing Chinese and other foreign words. In general, these Tartar systems of writing, although alphabetical, are very far from possessing the regular precision of the European alphabets; in the system before us, there are as many exceptions as rules, but it suffices for their imperfect state of civilization.

PLATE VII.

TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN WRITING.

XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES.

BUDDHIST FRAGMENTS.

THE fragments here noticed are copied from manuscript works, the subject of which relates to the dogmas or culture of the religion of Buddha, or Buddhism.

From Tibet, where it flourished, this religious system penetrated into Scandinavia by means of the Tartar races, on one side, and of the Manchus, on the other. From the Manchus it entered into China, Corea, Japan, Siam, and Tonquin; whilst, by another route, it spread its influence over the Birmans and Pegu. Its propagation was universal in Eastern India, and the religions of Lama, Fo, and Sinto, are but vigorous branches of this still more vigorous trunk, so strongly opposed to the system of ancient Brahmanism.

Amidst the impenetrable darkness which envelopes the origin of the Trans-Gangetic peoples of India, the name of the Indo-Scythians appears celebrated for many centuries before the Christian era. They were but one of the families now grouped under the denomination of the Indo-Tibetan branch, and placed beneath the rule of the Chinese sceptre.

Although possessing etymological relations with the languages of Indo-China, and with the Chinese itself, (to which it is said closely to approach in its syntax and grammatical form,) the Tibetan is written with characters which have

happily no resemblance with those used in the Celestial Empire.

The Tibetan writing consists, in fact, of a partly alphabetic system, the invention and use of which is referred to a period of half a century before the Christian era; and it is generally allowed, that the Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Sanscrit Devanagari alphabet. We recognise in it, however, various kinds of characters of a square form; for instance, the writing named *dvou-djan*, reserved for theological works and printing, and the writing *dvou-min*, which is more cursive, and applicable to ordinary use.

The specimen No. 1 of Plate VII. is in the *dvou-djan* writing. The square forms in it are numerous, and it is taken from the great work generally known under the title of *Kah-Gyur*, which has recently been sent from Tibet to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, consisting of one hundred large folio volumes, containing a number of Buddhist theological treatises, translated from the Sanscrit originals in the eighth or ninth century of our era, and at length printed during the years 1728—1746, by order of the Regent of the country of Lhassa*. Each volume is composed of a great number of separate leaves of paper, made from the bark of a tree, of uniform size, long and narrow, each of which is printed on both sides in large characters, after the manner of the Chinese; the text being inclosed within a border, and impressed by means of a wooden block, engraved in relief, so that this immense Buddhist encyclopædia, (called by the French missionaries the *Tibetan Bible*,) required as many blocks as there are leaves.

The religious notions of the Tibetans are also prevalent

* Another copy is in the library at the East India House. Manuscripts of this great work are rare in Europe, but a portion of it, comprising the *Sher-chin*, or the speculative philosophy of the Buddhists, may be found in the Add. MS., 15,522, in the British Museum. The characters resemble those in the printed copy. See an analysis of the whole work, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx.—Ed.

among the Mongols; but the languages and writing of these two people are not identical, as clearly proved by the Mongolian specimens given in the Plate.

The Mongols of Tibet, or northern Tungusians, regard also the *Kah-Gyur* or *Kan-Djour*, as their Bible, but their writing has a different origin. It is believed to be imitated from that of the Ouïgours, another Tartar family, whose political existence, under the name of Kao-tche, is referred to the first century of the Christian era, and whose language, amongst all the Tartarian nations, is considered as having been the earliest written, by means of the alphabet communicated to them by the Nestorians, the Sabæan, derived itself from the Syriac.

The latter is written in horizontal lines from right to left; the Mongol alphabet, on the contrary, is written in vertical lines, from left to right; but still, by placing these lines horizontally, the principal characters of the parent alphabet are easily to be recognized. The use of the Ouïgour writing among the Mongols is only carried back to the time of Zinghis-Khan. Half a century later, Kublai-Khan being anxious to create a national alphabet, charged a Tibetan nobleman, Pa-sse-pa, to invent one. This learned person composed an alphabet of 1000 signs, proceeding from forty-one original characters variously combined; but the invention did not succeed, and after the death of Kublai, the Mongols resumed the alphabet of the Ouïgours.

The fac-similes Nos. 2 and 3 are of this kind of writing, copied from some fragments of Mongolian manuscripts discovered by the Russians at the commencement of the eighteenth century in the ruins of the Buddhist monastery of Ablai-yin-kied, a desert spot near the source of the river Irtish*.

* See an account of this discovery, (which took place in 1721,) in Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches, &c.*, p. 228. Consult also the *Mém. de l'Acad.*, tom. xxx, p. 789; and the *Acta Eruditorum*, Leips., 1722. Several leaves

Some Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts are remarkable for their beautiful execution; the letters being written in white, or silver, or golden ink, upon paper covered with a brilliant black color. The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses some sheets executed in this elegant style.

PLATES VIII.—IX.

INDIAN WRITING.

XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES.

FRAGMENTS OF VARIOUS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

THE title of this notice recalls to mind one of the countries of primitive civilization, as proved by the multitude of monuments of every kind existing, formed by the hand of man when in the possession of all the intellectual inventions, and artistical or mechanical practices, useful both for social and individual welfare; and should we only carry back 3000 years from the present time the historical period of those civil and religious institutions to which it is certain that India has so long adhered, we should probably err in neglecting the previous epochs, and in leaving India to itself, at a time when Egypt, Assyria, and China were contemporaneously prospering on their own soils, and carrying their names and arms into distant countries, under the guidance of their complete and perfected civilization.

To speak here only of the literary monuments of India, it will be sufficient to say of the Sanscrit language, that it is the mother of the Greek and Latin, as well as of those idioms

of the manuscripts so found, written in gold and silver letters upon a black ground, are preserved in the Sloane collection, Brit. Mus., Nos. 2836, 2838.—ED.

named from the same origin Indo-Germanic. We must, consequently, confine the origin of the Greek and Latin languages within the space of twelve centuries before the Christian era; for if we grant to the civilization of India only these twelve centuries, they will complete, when added to those of the Christian era, the 3000 years so parsimoniously bestowed upon it. Such a concession is, however, perfectly idle when brought into contact with the traditions of Europe.

To whatever period, therefore, we refer the primitive times of Greece, (those of Inachus and his followers,) we must always behold India, at a much anterior period, rich in political and religious institutions; its colonies transporting, in the dark periods of history, by different routes and at two different eras, its language among the people of Europe, which have been subsequently named Greeks and Latins. These times and facts are doubtless very obscure, but the facts are certain; and as to the time, it becomes more remote in proportion to the fresh lights imparted by historical criticism; and the question of time will not become an obstacle in the investigations of true science.

Two important considerations must, however, be alluded to in connexion with the preceding remarks; firstly, the populations of India and Europe equally belong to the white race, which is admitted to be best fitted for the developement of intellect and the social instincts; secondly, in ancient and modern Europe, as in India, the alphabets have been at all times written from left to right.

Such are the fac-similes which occupy the two accompanying Plates.

The specimen No. 1, in Plate VIII. is written in Sanscrit, the ancient sacred language of India, but now long obsolete. This is the language of the sacred books of the Brahmans, of which the Vedas are the most ancient compositions, and of the *Mahábhárata* and *Ramayana*, the two principal historical

and religious epic poems; the former containing not less than 120,000 stanzas. The word *Sanscrit* signifies *perfected, accomplished;* and the language so named is, in fact, distinguished by the simplicity of its grammar, the regularity of its syntax, and the theory of its roots, which lend themselves to the composition of new words like the Greek and German.

The Sanscrit fragment No. 1, is taken from the *Bhagavat-Gita*, a philosophical dialogue between Crishna and Arjuna; this dialogue forms part of the *Mahábhárata;* it is written in the *Devanagari* character, a peculiar alphabet, composed of fifty-two distinct signs, or of a great number of groups, and is read from left to right.

The specimen No. 2 is also a fragment of the *Mahábhárata*, in the Devanagari character, copied from a manuscript ornamented with paintings.

In No. 3 an example is given of the writing of the Punjab, or province of Lahore, the people of which speak a modern idiom, abounding in Persian words; and their writing is degenerated from the Devanagari.

The first specimen in Plate IX., being No. 4, is another kind of Indian writing, called Landja, which is used in Nepaul, and more cursive than the Devanagari, from which it is derived.

The specimen No. 5 is copied from a philosophical treatise composed in Sanscrit, and written in the Bengali alphabet, peculiar to Bengal, the living idiom of which, derived from the Sanscrit, has produced under the influence of the English, the masters of the country, a great number of literary compositions, either original, or copied from European literature.

No. 6 is a specimen in the Telinga language and writing, in use in the greater part of the Dekkan.

Lastly, No. 7 is a specimen copied from the *Bhaga-Védan*, composed and written in Tamul, the dialect and alphabet of which are in use on the coast of Coromandel, in the French

possessions of India, as well as in Madras, Madura, Tranquebar, and Ceylon.

All these specimens are copied from manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and are of recent date. The ancient books of India are destroyed there by a species of worm*.

PLATE X.

PALI-BIRMAN WRITING.

XVIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

BUDDHIST TEXTS.

In Asia, many centuries before the Christian era, Buddha is found in the middle of Brahmanical India; he appears anew in the island of Ceylon; and his doctrine, hostile to Brahmanism, spread itself over the surrounding regions, making converts of their inhabitants. The new religion had its patriarchs and saints; they needed fresh banners, or at least banners different from the old ones; and a period arrived when, chased by the Brahmans beyond the Ganges, they abandoned the Sanscrit language, and the Devanagari alphabet, adopting, and in a manner consecrating, a sister-language to the Sanscrit, namely, the Pali, which soon spread over all the Buddhist countries of the Peninsula, among the Birmans, Siamese, and Javanese, and into Ceylon and Tibet. From the Devanagari

* This is true, generally speaking, but several Sanscrit manuscripts on palm-leaves exist, of considerable antiquity. In the Radcliffe library, at Oxford, is a portion of the Ramayana, dated *Samvat*, 1461—3, or A.D. 1405—7; and in the library of the Asiatic Society, among Col. Tod's MSS. is a treatise on Arithmetic, with the date *Samvat*, 1151, corresponding to A.D. 1097. See Schlegel's *Ramayana*, Præf., p. xlviii. 8vo. Bonn ad Rh. 1829.—Ed.

each nation formed a new alphabet, known by its own name, thus separating themselves absolutely from their ancient creed, their ancient language, and their ancient writing, which remained consecrated to the followers of Brahma.

In Europe, at the commencement of the vulgar era, Christianity spread and prospered. Wherever it penetrated it carried with it the Greek or Latin languages, and gave the alphabets to all those nations which it converted. Soon after, these two idioms and their alphabets served to distinguish externally two churches at perpetual enmity with each other, and which no human effort has been able to unite, or even to bring into contact.

In the middle ages Islamism carried with it the language of its prophet, and especially the Arabic alphabet, into all parts of the world.

Thus, it may be asserted, that the identity of the influence exercised in all ages and places upon mankind by social institutions, similar or analogous to each other, is manifested with complete evidence; and, as far as relates to alphabets in particular, (an institution pre-eminently social, although hitherto almost overlooked by the historian and philosopher,) we may affirm that, with the exception of the small number of alphabets absolutely primitive, all the rest have been produced by the divisions in religious creeds, and by the want, felt by the founder of each new sect, of a system of writing as well as a system of belief, altogether different from those of the rival sects; so that, in fact, to a certain extent, the numerous varieties of alphabets is a sure evidence of the not less numerous varieties of religious communions which have existed in the world; in the origin of both there is an unity of time, cause, and place.

All that has been said concerning the written monuments of the vast regions of India may be reduced to this general idea, which serves to divide into two great masses the entire

literature of this rich and interesting country, namely, the Brahmanical and the Buddhist literature, each characterized by a dominant religious creed, reciprocally excluding the other; each rich, although in different degrees, in moral, metaphysical, and cosmogonical compositions; in literary productions, both in prose and verse; in dramas, epic poems, and romances, which embrace the national legends; and in all these productions of imagination or faith, the knowledge acquired is but an accessory to one sole and general object, which with the weak-minded becomes the study of the popular doctrine, and with the initiated, that of allegories and mysteries.

The works which have furnished the fac-similes in the Plate enter into this general classification; they are in the Pali dialect, and relate to the Buddhist doctrines. This idiom was spoken in the countries to the south of the Ganges, where the birthplace of Buddha is said to have been. Protected by the fortuitous merit of being the mother-tongue of the new prophet, the Pali language has prospered from a period previous to the Christian era; but the sad fate of the faith attended also the language which had propagated it; both were expelled, and the Pali has since only existed as the language of the Buddhist liturgy, the sacred language of the faithful, being that of the sacred books of the followers of Buddha and of Lama, in all the countries where they are found; or as an obsolete language, studied only by the learned, but which differs from the Sanscrit less than the Italian does from Latin.

The Pali is written with three alphabets; two of these are in use among the Siamese, one of them more ancient than the other, which is the ordinary writing. The third alphabet is that of the Birmese, three varieties of which are represented in the Plate.

The first is the square Pali-Birman alphabet, consisting of large and massive letters; they are copied from the *Kam-*

mouva, a sacred book of the Birmese*; the two other specimens are formed of characters in circular lines. These two alphabets, like so many of those of India, are derived from the common source, the Devanagari.

These specimens shew how the Indians indulge in the taste of ornamenting the leaves of their books, which are formed of leaves of the palm-tree, painted and varnished, gilt or silvered†.

PLATE XI.

MALAY WRITING.

XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS.

In the article on the Javanese fragments, a general idea is *attempted* to be given of the family of Malayan languages, the branches of which are of vast extent, reaching over at least two-thirds of the globe, and which, notwithstanding the vast distances by which they are separated, have not lost the manifest characters of their parentage, which are found in the genius, grammatical forms, and roots of the words of these languages, which are so peculiar as to separate them from every other in the world, except perhaps from the Trans-Gangetic idioms of India. It is but an attempt, for it seems impossible at present to

* See the *Essai sur le Pali, &c.* Par E. Burnouf et C. Lassen. 8vo., Par., 1826, p. 205.—Ed.

† Many fair specimens of these are preserved in the British Museum. In the square character, Add. MSS., 4849, 8903, 11,640, 15,289, Eg., 735; in the round character, Sloane, 4150, Add., 15,291. Occasionally, the Kammouva was written on leaves of ivory, but these are of rarer occurrence. The Add. MS., 15,290, is one of this class, which was formerly in the collection of the Duke of Sussex.—Ed.

construct a complete system upon so vast a subject, or to join on to a single stem, without error, languages, which according to the most recent researches, are divisible into twelve principal branches, subdivided into more than eighty varieties, and other additional off-sets, including the idioms in ordinary use, although irregularly produced.

This formidable obstacle to the modern linguist is not the only one which he has to encounter in the study of the Malayan languages; there is another not less powerful, the majority of these languages being for the most part unwritten; and the student runs the risk of meeting with as many types, as he consults individuals; he has also to take into consideration the European influences, that of Holland at one point, and of Spain or other countries at another.

Confining ourselves here to the Malayan branch, properly so called, and to the language spoken by the Malays themselves, (who are said to have originated in Sumatra, and to have been very powerful at Malacca and elsewhere about the close of the thirteenth century,) we may remark, that the Malayan language is deemed simple and smooth, and that it is generally used on that account in all commercial communications in the Indian Archipelago. There are four styles pointed out in it, but such a distinction may be observed in every civilized country, should the language of the orator be distinguished from that of the people. But the Malay used in books is regular, and bears the name of the literal Malay, which is the true language, and written in the same manner wherever it is spoken, whether at the Moluccas, Sumatra, or Malacca.

Although the Malay literature is almost entirely imitative, and no ancient composition known, it is believed that the Malays possessed a distinct alphabet before their countries were invaded by Islamism. From the time of the domination of the Arabs, the Malays have adopted their alphabet, but it

was found to be insufficient. Separated by a distance of 1800 leagues, mostly covered by seas of a difficult navigation, the Arabs and Malays were not likely to agree in the construction of their respective languages, and still less in the nomenclature of the sounds peculiar to each. When, therefore, the Malay was written with the Arabic alphabet, it was found that the Malay possessed six sounds of which there was no corresponding signs in the Arabic. These were added by the Malays, who were thereby enabled to express all the sounds of their language with the Arabic alphabet.

The four specimens of writing in the Plate will shew the state of this new Malay alphabet, which is written horizontally from right to left, the vowels being often neglected.

The specimen No. 1 is copied from the first Malayan manuscript brought to Paris, and which greatly perplexed the learned of the time. The Abbé Renaudot and Fourmont could not read its contents, nor Thevenot, who had obtained it during his voyages. The Malay literature is now well understood, thanks to the writings of M. J. Dulaurier, who has shewn its importance and utility*.

The specimen No. 2 is taken from another manuscript, containing two tales in the same style as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and probably translated from the Arabic or Persian; indeed, the Malay literature contains many translations from the Persian, Arabic, and Tamul.

The history of the Raja Maha-Raja-Ali has furnished the fac-simile No. 3, and a History of Joseph that of No. 4.

* See the *Journal Asiatique,* 3me série, tom. x., p. 53, 8vo., 1840, for some remarks of M. Dulaurier on the value of the Malay language, prefixed to a catalogue of the Malay MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society in London. The papers also by M. Jacquet on the same subject, may be consulted with advantage in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique,* tom. ix., p. 97, 8vo., 1832. In the British Museum are preserved the Malay MSS. collected by John Crawfurd, Esq., the author of the History of the Indian Archipelago, Add. MSS., 12,376—12,399.—Ed.

These two manuscripts belong to M. Dulaurier, the others to the Bibliothèque Royale. All four are modern; the first not appearing to be more ancient than the seventeenth century, and others apparently belonging to the eighteenth.

M. Dulaurier has recently made us acquainted with various important documents relative to the maritime legislation of the Malays*.

PLATE XII.

JAVANESE WRITING.

XVIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

RELIGIOUS, MYTHOLOGICAL, AND ROMANTIC TREATISE.

THE fac-simile in this Plate is the first of the long series which might be furnished by the family of Oceanic languages, if the number and variety of the alphabets corresponded with the number and variety of the idioms of this vast portion of the globe, long considered as a dependence of Asia, and more recently as a fifth part of the world.

The numerous tribes of people who compose this great family, although dispersed over nearly two-thirds of the circumference of the globe, and separated from each other by wide seas and the whole of the Australian continent, speak analogous languages, which appear to originate from one common source; yet many of these languages are written with alphabets, which are for the most part of great antiquity, and of which the signs have but little mutual relation, either of form or origin.

* See the *Institutions Maritimes de l'Archipel d'Asie*, in the Malay and Bugis languages, accompanied by a French translation by M. Dulaurier. 8vo., Par., 1845.—ED.

Profound research into the nature of those idioms, and attentive comparisons, have enabled modern science to perceive the relationship existing between the Oceanic dialects, and those of India beyond the Ganges, more especially the civilized idioms of the Indian Archipelago, which are the only ones graphically represented by an alphabet.

The origin of all these idioms is referred to a language which was that of an unknown people inhabiting the island of Java, to which the eastern maritime world owes its primitive civilization. This language has been termed the Great Oceanic, and it has been placed at the head of all the idioms of Malayan or Javanese origin. This primitive language has been regarded as long dead, and the modern Javanese to be immediately derived from it, preserving its forms and words.

This is the language of Java, comprehending two-thirds of the island so named—the most civilized portion—which at various periods has been predominant in the Indian Archipelago. The idioms of this language are numerous, and that which is named *Kawi**, was used for literary and religious purposes in a great part of Java before the introduction of Islamism, and still exists in the adjacent islands.

The modern Javanese alphabet clearly betrays its Indian origin; and it is written horizontally from left to right, like the alphabets of Europe. It is composed of twenty-two consonants, and six vowels. The arrangement of the letters does not correspond with that of the Sanscrit Devanagari alphabet; it is nevertheless very regular, with fourteen sounds, analogous to those of the Sanscrit alphabet, and is used in writing various other dialects of the Oceanic region.

The national literature of the Javanese is placed in the

* A fac-simile of an ancient *Kawi* manuscript may be seen among the Crawfurd collection in the British Museum, MS. Add., 12,340. See also the *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii., pp. 212—217, 8vo., 1820; and Raffles's *History of Java*, vol. ii., p. 59, 4to, 1817.—Ed.

first rank amongst those of the Eastern maritime world; it consists of poems, dramas, songs, and many writings relating to the history of the Javanese and their ancient religion; but local traditions are too much mingled with these details, which thus assume the appearance of romances, or works of imagination.

The manuscript from which the fac-simile and painting are taken, is a work of this kind, and one possessing the most romantic features. The text exhibits the cursive Javanese writing, written in long lines, between double lines drawn with a hard point; the margins being occasionally indicated by a line marked with a plummet.

This manuscript consists of 600 or 700 leaves of a vegetable paper of native manufacture, thick, greyish, and coarse; but nearly half the volume remains unwritten. Another work has been commenced on the last page, in the reverse direction; but the latter is not illustrated with drawings.

The drawings which ornament the first work (one of which is faithfully copied in the Plate), are infinitely varied; but the greater number remain merely uncolored outlines. The principal personages of the history are distinguished in the colored drawings by having their faces, and sometimes the whole of the naked parts of the body, gilded. Monstrous and diabolical figures are introduced; there are several combats and battles; men are mounted on horses and on elephants; in one drawing red men are firing off a piece of cannon, which is not the only trace of European customs which these paintings exhibit; others are seen in the costume of the females, and the arms with which the giants are furnished; the harness of the horses also is entirely European: hence this manuscript is considered not to be older than the eighteenth century.

It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, which

possesses a second nearly similar volume, but in the latter the drawings are less deformed, the design more correct, and the whole composition more tolerable*.

PLATES XIII.—XIV.

SIAMESE WRITING.

XVII?TH AND XVIII?TH CENTURIES.

RELIGIOUS AND ASTROLOGICAL TREATISES.

THE title of this article, and of the two Plates which illustrate it, again direct our attention to the vast country of India, and its multiplicity of states great and small; the striking variations of its public institutions, climates, languages, and popular creeds; its external influences, and the modifications which they have produced. The antiquity of the civilization of its powerful tribes, and of their annals, recognized in the West, and the ignorance still felt by us as to the social condition of a great portion of that immense continent, throw the historian and philosopher, after the most persevering researches, into inexplicable doubts as to the primitive origin of the Indian institutions, their developement and expansion, the distinction to be drawn between the earlier stages of civilization, and its second and following eras, in which its limits have been widened.

* A similar manuscript, in the original stamped Javanese binding, on astrological subjects, is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Add., 12,338, among Mr. Crawfurd's valuable and extensive collection of manuscripts of Java, acquired in 1842. In the same collection are six Javanese manuscripts written on palm-leaves, inclosed in carved wooden covers, MSS. Add., 12,273—12,278.—ED.

Nevertheless, the examination of these various questions by men of deep research has not failed to discover various important and dominant facts, which contribute to the more precise investigation of the rest, as well as their disengagement from false appearances, and the determination of their real value and true position in the general series of historical statements worthy of confidence.

These dominant facts appear to be characterized by various names; in regard to religion, by the names Brahmanism and Buddhism; in regard to language, by the name Sanscrit; and in regard to writing, by the alphabet named Devanagari, and subsequently by the Arabic.

The ideas which these names suggest are found throughout the whole of India, and present themselves first in every ethnographical research, whatever may be the part of India, which is the subject of enquiry.

The Siamese specimens in these two Plates are connected with these principles; as are also the seven specimens of Indian writing, as well as the Malay, Javanese, Tibetan, and Birmese.

Starting from the centre of Hindustan, the doctrine of Buddha penetrated to the kingdom of Siam, through Arracan, Ava, and Pegu. The language of Siam is the Pali, a daughter of the Sanscrit, and its writing, the Siamese alphabet, is derived also from the Devanagari, either directly, or through the intervention of that of Tibet.

If we compare the Siamese specimens in the two Plates with the specimens of Devanagari (Pl. VIII.) this derivation will not, perhaps, be evident at first sight, but a slight degree of attention will render it visible; and those who have investigated this subject easily perceive, that the Siamese writing is merely complicated by the introduction of the twisted ornaments, with which they are overcharged, and which the Chinese aptly compare to the writhings of a worm.

It is further observed, that the Siamese alphabet, simply altered from the Devanagari, has great analogies in the form of its signs with the alphabet of Buddha found on the ancient monuments of Java; and this latter observation is equally applicable to both of the alphabets used by the Siamese, the ancient* and modern, which latter is termed *bali*, which likewise proves their complete analogy.

It is affirmed, that the Siamese were initiated in civilization by their neighbours the Laos; the examination of this tradition does not materially affect the present enquiry; there being, in fact, only one literature, the Buddhist, among all these nations, the source of which is derived from the Pali; the theology of Buddha is its basis, and we find in it a number of writings on doctrinal and metaphysical subjects, cosmogony, the lives of the patriarchs, mythology, and astrology.

The Siamese alphabet consists of thirty-seven consonants and twenty vowels, which form a peculiar alphabet; the language is chiefly monosyllabic, owing to the neighbouring influence of China.

It may be seen, by the form of the specimens in the Plates, that the Siamese manuscripts consist of sheets folded together in narrow pages, like the Mexican manuscripts, in the manner of a screen, either in their length or breadth; they are written on thick coarse paper, similar to that used in Europe. The ground of the paper is sometimes white, and sometimes black; the scribes using black, red, yellow, or white pigments, according to their taste. The figures which illustrate the fac-similes will give some idea of the talents of

* No specimen is given in the Plate of the *ancient* Siamese character, but it may be seen in the *Essai sur le Pali*, by Burnouf and Lassen, Plates 2, 3, and 6. When written upon palm-leaves, the character is thinner and more elegant, of which some remarkably fine specimens are preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Add., 11,552—11,554.—Ed.

modern Siamese artists, the two manuscripts being of recent date. In other manuscripts the writing employed is not so tall, and more rounded.

PLATE XV.

CUNEIFORM WRITING.

FROM THE XXTH TO THE VTH CENTURY, B.C.

BABYLONIAN AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

THIS Plate will exhibit to the reader various specimens of one of the most ancient and most singular systems of writing hitherto known. It is named *cuneiform*, or *nail-headed;* the character employed in the writing resembling a *wedge* or *nail.* Amongst all the various kinds of writing, this alone exhibits to us an entire system, containing a certain number of letters, thirty at least, deduced from a *single* primitive sign, of which all the rest are merely combinations. This writing, notwithstanding its high antiquity, is *alphabetical,* and is written from left to right.

There is no manuscript in existence, in which this alphabet is employed, but it is found on numerous inscriptions engraven on rock, or public buildings, upon the bricks, of which these buildings are composed, on various monuments of different sizes, fixed or moveable, lastly, on engraved stones, cylinders, and amulets of various forms.

Cuneiform inscriptions are found in regions far apart; all of them are, however, Asiatic, as Armenia, Babylon, and Persia; there are also accidental instances of their occurrence in Egypt.

Babylon appears to have been the primitive country of

the cuneiform writing. Semiramis carried it into Armenia twenty centuries before the Christian era. Moreover, the Persians had been long acquainted with it, when (after the Medes) they invaded the fruitful plains of the Tigris and Euphrates. In their turn, they carried it for a time into Egypt, but it remained there confined to their own use, and never replaced the national writings. The dominion of the Persians in that country was, in fact, too temporary.

It was at Babylon, that the cuneiform inscriptions which exist amongst the ruins of the ancient edifices of this celebrated capital of Assyria, were first remarked by modern travellers; and the honour of their discovery is assigned to Father Emmanuel de Saint Albert, a Carmelite friar, who had long resided at Bagdad. The Europeans who, after him, visited these regions, observed and described the same inscriptions; and Pietro della Valle sent to the Jesuit Kircher at Rome, a brick from the ruins, bearing an inscription of this kind. The French consul at Bagdad, Beauchamp, wrote an account of these ruins, and sent to the illustrious Abbé Barthelemy many of the bricks, still preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Royale, and published by Millin*.

Other travellers, equally zealous, leaving Babylon to the south-east, penetrated as far as Persepolis, and recognized inscriptions among the ruins of this capital of the empire of Cyrus, similar (as far as the form of the signs is concerned) to those of Babylon.

In our own times, an unexpected discovery has opened a wider field to the conjectures of the learned, concerning these inscriptions. In 1827, a German traveller, under the protection of the French Government, penetrated into Kurdistan, and discovered on the shores of Lake Van, and in the vicinity

* *Monumens Antiques Inédits*, tom. ii., p. 263, 4to., 1806.—Ed.

of the city of the same name, a considerable number of cuneiform inscriptions*, many of great extent. They are the evidences of the ancient Babylonian dominion in this part of Armenia, as stated in history; the Armenian chronicles having preserved to this city of Van the name of *Shamiramgher*, the city of Semiramis; and the recollections of the conquests of this great queen are themselves preserved in the majority of the inscriptions collected in this inhospitable region, where M. Schulz, the traveller by whom they had been discovered, was barbarously murdered by the natives in the midst of his researches.

An exposition of the different systems which have been formed for the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, would require a large dissertation. Three different alphabets have been successively published; one by M. Grotefend, who first obtained any certain results on this difficult subject; another by the late M. Saint Martin, who suggested some new views; and the third by M. Bournouf†, who, after reviewing the opinions of his predecessors, proposed in his turn thirteen explanations of signs, differing from or completing those which they had proposed. The number of these characters extends to thirty‡.

These alphabets have hitherto, however, been applied only to the Persian inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes; those of Babylon and Lake Van are still unexamined§. Is the

* Engraved in the *Journal Asiatique*, 3me série, tom. ix.—Ed.

† *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan.* 4to., Par., 1836.—Ed.

‡ The number now is increased to thirty-nine, and their value rests upon a basis not to be shaken. See Major Rawlinson's interesting Memoir in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x., in which a comparative table is given of the progress made in the interpretation of the Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions, according to the different systems proposed; see also the papers by Dr. Hincks, in the *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxi., pt. i. ii. 4to., 1846—7.—Ed.

§ Since this was written, the discoveries of numerous inscribed

idiom lost in which they are written? In that of the Persian kings, M. Bournouf has recognized a dialect of the ancient Zend, as spoken in Persia in the fifth century B.C., and supposed to be the origin of the modern Persian.

In the Plate, Nos. 1 and 2, is represented a double inscription from the city of Semiramis; in No. 3, an inscription on a vase in the Bibliothèque Royale, in which the name of Xerxes is found, both in the phonetic Egyptian hieroglyphics, and in the cuneiform characters; the Egyptian writing agreeing with the Persian, as first discovered by the younger Champollion. In Nos. 4, 5, 6, are the first three lines of a long inscription, probably in three languages, and containing also the name of Xerxes, brought from Lake Van. We abridge with regret the curious details which might be furnished by the subject before us.

PLATES XVI.—XIX.

PERSIAN WRITING OF VARIOUS PERIODS.

THE AVESTA, IN ZEND; THE BUN-DEHESH, IN PEHLEVI; SASSANIAN INSCRIPTIONS, AND MODERN TEXTS.

THE great antiquity of the historical period in Persia sufficiently explains the cause of the number and remarkable variety of the subjects enumerated in the heading of the present

Assyrian cuneiform monuments at Khorsabad and Nimroud, have recently opened a wider field for comparison and analysis; and it is confidently expected, that the successful labors of Major Rawlinson on the Babylonian portion of the Behistun inscription, will give the desired key to the explanation of the Assyrian monuments. The researches of M. Botta and Mr. Layard will, no doubt, contribute to, and confirm this result; nor should the paper of Professor Westergaard, on the Median species of cuneiform writing, (in the *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1844) be neglected.—ED.

article; and this variety sufficiently also indicates that of the systems of writing which were in use in the great empire of which Cyrus was one of the most remarkable personages.

The most learned researches into the annals of the ancient civilization of the East teach us, in respect to the empire of Iran, the primitive name of Persia, that it was at first subject to a Hindu dynasty, seated at Mahabad, in Media, which was thence called Mahabadian. This was succeeded by a dynasty of the Iranian race, more than twenty centuries before the Christian era, the Pishdadian race, termed Medes by the Greeks, of whom Kaïoumorz was the sovereign.

The Kayanides next followed, about the year 700 B.C., of whom Cyrus was the fourth king, about 560 B.C. His successors were destroyed by Alexander, in 330, and the first Persian empire ended with the conquests of the Macedonian hero.

In the year 312 B.C., the Greek Seleucidæ succeeded Alexander; in the year 250 the Arsacides drove away the successors of the first Seleucus, and maintained themselves on the Persian throne till the year 226 of the Christian era, although the imperial sceptre of Rome had then governed a part of Western Asia for more than three centuries. The Sassanides, who were of Iranian origin, took the place of the sons of Arsaces in A.D. 226, and in their turn they were expelled by the Mussulmen in A.D. 652.

Thus, ancient Persia, or Iran, was governed successively by Indian kings, Iranian kings, Greek kings, and Mussulman princes; it was temporarily usurped by the Indians, Assyrian Arabs, Turanians or Scythians, Greeks, and Turks; and perpetually affected, owing to its geographical position, between two conflicting systems of civilization of different origin, namely, the civilization of the Arab race, and that of the Hindu.

From such a succession of weighty influences, throughout

a period of twenty-five centuries, we have no reason to be astonished at the striking varieties exhibited by the successive states of the language and writing of Persia, or at discovering in its monuments and books the cuneiform character, the Zend, the Pehlevi, the Greek, the Sassanian, and the Arabic; or at finding among its most ancient monuments a writing proceeding from left to right, (the nail-headed,) as in the Indian system, or one which proceeds from right to left, (the Zend, &c.,) as in the Arabic.

It has been asked, which of these two systems belonged to the first civilization of Iran? but the synchronism of certain facts, very much opposed in their nature, demands a prudent reserve, before such a question is answered. In fact, the known languages of Iran on the east are either derived from, or are contemporary with, the Sanscrit; whilst those of Assyria, on the west of Iran, are derived from, or are contemporary with, the Arabic; and yet we find at Babylon, the capital of Assyria, and at Istakhar, the capital of ancient Persia, the same cuneiform system of writing, which is neither Indian nor Arabic.

But another question arises, whether this identity in the form of the signs of the Babylonian and Iranian writings, is also found in the idioms which were in use in these two countries at the same period? To resolve this doubt, we must first be able to *read* the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon and Istakhar, or Persepolis, and thus discover whether at Babylon a dialect of Arabian origin was written with this character, at the same time that at Istakhar it was used to write a dialect of Hindu origin; or rather, whether India had penetrated as far as Babylon, through the influence of the Persian dynasty of the Mahabadians, or by means of the temporary possession of Assyria by the Persians, and if these Babylonian inscriptions ought to be studied by the assistance of a Sanscrit dialect, like those of Istakhar, and,

consequently, cease to belong to the great family of Arabic idioms, termed Semitic; the existence of which, however, in Chaldæa cannot be disputed.

After the cuneiform writing, we arrive, in the chronological order generally adopted, at the Zend writing and language.

The Zend alphabet consists of thirty-eight or forty signs, of which twelve are vowels. The primitive arrangement of this alphabet is not known, but it has considerable analogy with the Sanscrit, both in the system of its signs, and their value; and it has been thence concluded, that this alphabet, in these respects, was formed before the two idioms were separated. As to the form of the signs, there is a great resemblance between the Sanscrit and Zend alphabets, although the former proceeds from left to right, like European writing, whilst the latter is read from right to left, like the Oriental.

The Sanscrit employs a sign named *Sandhi*, which is a line drawn above the writing, in order to include all the words in the same series; the Zend, on the contrary, does not employ this line, each word being separated by a point from that which follows.

The first specimen in Plate XVI. is a true example of Zend writing. It is copied from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, containing the *Avesta* or *Zend-Avesta*, composed of the *Vendidad*, the *Iseshne*, and the *Visperad*, sacred books of the Iranians, which had for their author Zoroaster, the philosophical reformer of the Persian religion in the reigns of Darius Hystaspes and of his son Xerxes. Zoroaster wrote his books in the Zend or Dery language, being that of the court of Balk, the capital of Bactria, and perfectly analogous to the Sanscrit in its community of origin and formation, but which did not follow the latter in its gradual progress towards perfection.

But was the Zend *writing*, of which the manuscript before us exhibits a model, employed by Zoroaster, like the Zend *language*? It is impossible to answer this question satisfactorily*. The ancient writing of the monuments of Iran contemporary with Zoroaster, namely, the inscriptions of Persepolis and Hamadán, are traced in cuneiform characters from left to right, but the Zend follows the opposite direction. Is it to be supposed, that the reformer of the Persian religion would have imposed on his followers not only a new creed, but also a new style of writing directly opposite to the ancient form? or that the cuneiform and Zend alphabets existed simultaneously, the one used only for public monuments, and the other for books? But, in such a case, why should the cuneiform alphabet preserve the Indian type, and be written from left to right, and the Zend follow the Arabic system, from right to left?

In truth, the age of the Zend alphabet is unknown, and its existence only renders more difficult the solution of the numerous curious questions respecting the early writings used in the Persian empire.

The manuscript which has furnished the first specimen in Plate XVI. was brought from India by Anquetil du Perron, who successfully accomplished one of the most remarkable literary missions of the last century. He was anxious to discover the ancient religious books of the Persians, composed by Zoroaster and his followers, which no longer existed in Persia; but a colony of his disciples had taken refuge and been established at Guzerat, on the north part of the coast of Malabar, for more than a thousand years, from the period

* In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. viii., p. 350, may be found some remarks by Professor Westergaard on this subject, which seem to negative the authenticity of the Zend writings, since they were probably transcribed from oral repetition under the Sassanian dynasty. —Ed.

when the Caliphs of Bagdad caused their fire-temples to be destroyed. Anquetil accordingly went to India to search for these books, which he obtained, and brought to Paris in 1762*.

The manuscript before us was one of the number, and a note in the handwriting of the voyager informs us, that the volume was copied at Guzerat in the year 1758; that it is in the Zend writing, and in the Zend and Pehlevi languages, mingled with Pa-Zend, a corruption of the Zend.

Such a mixture of languages or writings is not surprising; since it is not unusual with the Asiatics, when transcribing a text accompanied by a translation, to write a phrase of the latter immediately after a phrase of the original. The six lines in the specimen No. 1 are entirely in the Zend writing.

The fac-simile No. 2 is in Pehlevi†. The analogy between the Zend and Pehlevi alphabets may cause these two specimens to be confounded with each other; a little attention, however, will be sufficient to distinguish them.

Anquetil gives only twenty-four letters to the Pehlevi alphabet. More recent writers have slightly modified this statement, but the evident analogy of the two alphabets is not disputed. This must necessarily exist, from the analogy of the two idioms; the Zend being nearer to the Sanscrit, and more conformable to its primitive constitution, whilst the Pehlevi, employed in the neighbourhood of Assyria, and having admitted, owing to its proximity, a number of Chaldee

* See the *Zend-avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., traduit en François, sur l'original Zend, avec des remarques. Par M. Anquetil du Perron.* 3 vols. 4to., 1771.—Ed.

† Taken from a MS. brought home by Anquetil du Perron, containing the *Bun-dehesh,* or Cosmogony of the Parsis. After the works in Zend, the *Bun-dehesh* is that for which the Parsis feel the greatest respect. It is said to have been translated in the seventh century, from a Zend work now lost.—Ed.

words, and having, as in the Arabic dialects, suppressed the vowels in its writing, it rendered the pronunciation of the language more rapid, but at the same time became further removed from its original. The Pehlevi is in the third degree of descent in the family of which the Sanscrit is the head. It is therefore for ancient Persia a third alphabet.

We are not acquainted with a distinct alphabet for the Parsi, another dialect of the Sanscrit, presumed to be the fourth generation, in respect to its predecessors the Zend and Pehlevi. The Parsi preserves the orthographical forms of the Pehlevi, and the learned Anquetil carries its existence considerably before the Christian era.

The fourth in order among the alphabets used in Persia, was the Greek alphabet; but that of the Seleucidæ did not differ from the one adopted in the Greek empire of Alexander. The Parthian Arsacides preserved also its use during the whole of their domination in Persia, but the Sassanides, their successors, introduced a new alphabet, without entirely abandoning the use of the Greek on public monuments.

It is to the illustrious Silvestre de Sacy*, that history is indebted for the decyphering of the Sassanian alphabet, which exists in the legends of the coins of the family of Artaxerxes and Sapor, the founders of the new dynasty in A.D. 226, and in the inscriptions engraved during their reigns, on the rocks of Nakhshi-Rustam, near ancient Persepolis, and at Kirmanshah, in Kurdistan.

The Sassanian alphabet is only composed of nineteen letters, written from right to left, like the Arabic, Zend, and Pehlevi, with which it has manifest analogies, both in sound and form. The Sassanides, descendants of Sassan, with the best informed portion of the Persian nation, preserved the use of the ancient Zend and Pehlevi writing, and re-esta-

* In his *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse,* &c. 4to., Par., 1793.—Ed.

blished it, together with the ancient laws and religion, when they drove away the last of the Arsacides, who had exclusively retained the use of the Greek alphabet.

The specimen No. 3 in Plate XVI., is a copy of one of the inscriptions of Nakhshi-Rustam. Artaxerxes, the first Sassanian king, is named in it; and it thus belongs to the first half of the third century of the Christian era. Silvestre de Sacy has determined, that its text is in the Pehlevi dialect, that the vowels are not expressed; contrary to the Zend dialect, which abounds in vowels.

But in the middle of the seventh century, in A.D. 652, Persia became part of the Empire of the Caliphs. Othman, the third Caliph, established the Arabian supremacy, and introduced Arabian institutions; the Arabic Neskhi alphabet, already in use among the Arab tribes, was forced upon Persia with the Coran, and took the place of the ancient cuneiform and other writings.

The Plates XVII.—XIX. contain various specimens of Persian writing subsequent to the introduction of Islamism. They exhibit the forms of the Arabic alphabet; but in general, especially in fine copies of poetical works, this writing takes a sloping direction, whence it has obtained the name of *taalik*. The upright style of the Arabic is closely followed in historical writings, but for private affairs and official papers, the writing is generally careless and inelegant, destitute of its diacritical marks, and thence named *shekestheh*, or broken.

The sounds of the Arabic letters are nearly all preserved in the Persian alphabet; the Persians, however, employ in their spoken language some sounds unknown in the Arabic, those of the letters *p*, *tch*, *j*, and *g* hard, of the French alphabet, and which also exist in the Zend. These sounds are represented by the four Arabic signs, expressing the nearly corresponding sounds *b*, *dj*, *z*, and *k*, which are marked with three dots triangularly disposed, to

shew that they have been invested with this new phonetic quality.

The specimen No. 1 in Plate XVII., is copied from the end of a very beautiful manuscript of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, containing the celebrated heroic poem of Ferdusi, intitled *Shah-Nameh*, or the Book of Kings; a composition of 60,000 verses, written in the tenth century in the Parsi dialect, which has become the common language of Persia. To this dialect, two epochs may be attributed, namely, that of Ferdusi and other ancient Persian poets, who used only the words of their national language, as spoken in the courts of their sovereigns before the Arab conquest; and that of the modern Parsi or Persian, properly so called, which in consequence of the invasion of the Arabs, the irruptions of the Turks, and the conquests of the Mongols, has become intermingled with Arabic, Turkish, Tartar, and Indian words, and which from its easy pronunciation, and harmonious terminations, is now in use from the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Persia, and from the Tigris to beyond the Indus: Anquetil indeed says, from Constantinople to Pekin.

This portion of the *Shah-Nameh*, (which is in four columns, and came from the library of the Sophis of Persia,) contains the end of the poem; and the inscription states, that the volume was copied in the year 1012 of the Hegira (A.D. 1604) by the hand of Mohammed-Djan; the writing is very elegant.

The specimen No. 2 in Plate XVII., is taken from a manuscript of the poetry of Hafiz, belonging to M. Reinaud, member of the Institute, written by a celebrated Persian scribe, named Hedayat-Allah. In 1828, the King of Persia, being desirous to make a present to the Emperor of Russia, sent him a copy of the work of Hafiz, written by this scribe.

The specimen No. 3 in the same Plate, is a fragment of the romance-history of Hatim-Tai, a personage of ancient

India, celebrated for his liberality. This manuscript was written in India, and is of recent date.

The specimen No. 4 is the ordinary writing of the public offices, and is known by the name of *diwani;* the lines of which are often raised at the end.

Plate XVIII. is copied from a Persian poem, intitled *The Amours of Jupiter and the Sun.* The manuscript appears to be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and the beautiful illustration which accompanies this specimen affords a favourable idea of the talent of the Persian miniaturists.

The manuscript which has furnished the specimens of writing and painting in Plate XIX. is, on the contrary, of Indian origin. It contains the romance of Kamrup, a work in prose, translated into Persian from the Indian text. This volume is executed in the Persian writing of India, very regular, sloping but little, and much nearer in form to the Arabic neskhi than to the Persian taalik.

The miniature is also of Indian execution, as shewn by the physiognomies and costumes of the personages. This manuscript, which is of the nineteenth century, belongs also to the Bibliothèque Royale, to which it was presented by M. Jomard. It presents to us the means of bringing down to our own time the series of specimens necessary for exhibiting the successive state of the graphic art among the ancient and modern Persians; a nation contemporary with the earliest generations of the human race, and with which are historically intermingled the most ancient vestiges of India, Babylon, Arabia, and Egypt, as well as the impenetrable mysteries of the primitive Bactria.

PLATE XX.

PHŒNICIAN WRITING.

DATE UNKNOWN.

FRAGMENT ON EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

For several centuries archæologists have applied themselves with praiseworthy zeal to the discovery and interpretation of Phœnician monuments of every kind. Coins and inscriptions were at first the only objects of investigation; soon afterwards many medals and bilingual inscriptions, Phœnician and Greek, more directly favored their researches; but manuscripts were unknown. It was not even supposed that the smallest fragment of this kind was in existence, until Egypt, which seems to have entertained the idea of preserving authentic documents of the annals of the earliest civilized nations, unexpectedly restored, together with her own national writings, several leaves of Phœnician books, written upon papyrus.

The Plate represents one of these leaves, belonging to the precious collection of manuscripts in the Musée Royal of the Louvre.

This leaf is not the only one hitherto known. Two others are preserved in the Royal Museum of Turin, and four were in the rich collection of the late Duc de Blacas; all these leaves were brought from Egypt.

Their existence in that celebrated country is perfectly natural; the proximity of Egypt and Phœnicia readily explains it; nor is it more remarkable, that Phœnician monuments should have been discovered in the Isle of Cyprus, at Athens, Malta, Sicily, and in Africa; the Phœnicians having traded to all the coasts of the Mediterranean.

From a general survey of the Phœnician monuments known up to the present time, some definite views have been sought to be gained, concerning the most ancient of them; and the earliest date has been assigned to the coins of Cilicia, which are considered to be of the year 394 B.C.

The primitive antiquities of the Phœnicians, however, go back to a much earlier age. The people thus named is one of the most ancient known, and most anciently civilized; yet it is but a branch of the great Arab family; its language being very analogous to the Hebrew, and, like the Hebrew itself, only a dialect of the Arabic, preserving all the characteristic types of its origin. Now, since the time of Abraham, at least, that is to say, during a period of 4000 years, documentary history furnishes us with accounts of this great family, to which belong all the ancient monuments of the Peninsula of Arabia, and all the Hebrew, Phœnician, Ethiopian, Chaldæan, and Syriac writings. The Arab nation and the Arab language are the original stock of all these nations and languages; the alphabets alone are different, and the formation of alphabets is too arbitrary to influence the constitution of an idiom. Hence it is with just cause that philologists of all periods have considered the Hebrew language as a certain means of interpretation of the monuments written in the Phœnician tongue, the alphabet of which alone remained to be discovered; and the bilingual inscriptions, in which various proper names are found written, both in Phœnician and Greek, supplied with certainty the elements of interpretation. It happened, however, that whilst the Phœnician monuments discovered in so many parts of Asia and Africa present inscriptions written in similar or nearly similar characters, their language is less uniform.

With respect to the written Phœnician monuments discovered in Egypt, it has been supposed, that the texts of these monuments were written in Phœnician characters, but in the

Aramæan dialect of Egypt, a dialect used in Ethiopia, in which we possess a nearly complete translation of the Bible, and which is also referable to the common Arabic stock*.

The Phœnician monuments of Egypt are divided into several classes, not only from their form and matter, but also from their intrinsic character; engraved stones, bearing figures of Egyptian divinities, with their Egyptian names in Phœnician letters; other stones entirely Aramæan, both in their subject and inscription; bas-reliefs of Egyptian rites, with Phœnician inscriptions; leaves of manuscripts purely Aramæan in idiom and writing; and lastly other leaves of Jewish origin, and written for the use of that people.

The Abbé Barthélemy published in 1761† the explanation of a funerary Egyptian *stele*, accompanied by a Phœnician inscription in four lines, a bas-relief which exists in the Public Library at Carpentras. It is the adoration of Osiris by a Phœnician woman, converted to the Egyptian worship.

The alphabet of this inscription does not materially differ from that found on the leaves of papyrus, if the material of these two kinds of monuments is considered; the papyrus allowing the brush or calamus to give to the letters slender and rounded forms, whilst the incision of an inscription on a stone, or other hard material, necessarily produces rectangular and massive forms.

The writing of the fac-simile is to be read from right to left, like all‡ other eastern writings.

* See Gesenius, *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ monumenta.* Lipsiæ, 1837, 4to.

† See the *Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions,* tom. xxx., p. 405. —Ed.

‡ Not *all,* but only those of *Semitic* origin; since the languages of the Arian stock are read from left to right.—Ed.

PLATE XXI.

SAMARITAN WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

THE general views upon the great family of the languages of the Arabic race, which are detailed in the articles on the Arabic and Hebrew writings, leave only a few remarks necessary to be made on the Samaritan writing.

The Samaritans were, in reality, only a portion of the Israelitish people, and their country a portion of Palestine. Samaria was, indeed, at one period the capital of the kingdom of Israel; and this civil and religious unity produced a corresponding union of language and writing. The Samaritan alphabet, such as is employed in the manuscript copied in the accompanying Plate, was, in fact, from the earliest period, the universal alphabet of the entire Hebrew nation.

Much pains have been taken, but with little success, to determine its origin; we must not, however, omit to observe, that the Samaritan alphabet has been considered as one of the most ancient among all those of the East, and as one preserving the most evident traces of the formation of an alphabetical system of writing. This opinion is founded upon the names which are given to the letters of this alphabet, and which are significative; thus, aleph (A) signifies *an ox*, beth (B) *a house*, ghimel (G) *a camel*, daleth (D) *a gate*, zain (Z) *a dart* or *a sword*, jod (I) *a hand*, and so forth; and the ingenious author of this observation concludes from these facts, that, in a primitive alphabet, these denominations announce that the *figure* of the letter had a direct relation with the object designated by its *name;* for example, that the figure of an *ox* was in some degree given to the letter A, and that this letter was called *aleph* from the name of this

quadruped, which commences with the sound A. It is as if in French the figure of a *bull* were given as the written sign of the sound B, because its name commences with the letter which expresses this sound.

It has been remarked in the article on Hebrew writing, in which the same nomenclature of alphabetical signs is introduced and preserved, that it is on a similar principle, and on this principle alone, the entire phonetic or alphabetical system of Egyptian writing is established. It might therefore be inferred, that the figures of the letters of the Samaritan writing approached, in their primitive period, the forms of the objects which the names of each clearly indicate; and since the actual figures of the Samaritan alphabet, although very ancient, have no longer even a distant resemblance to the objects indicated by the names of these letters, this alphabet has been considered as their *second;* and that its predecessor, probably entirely figurative, and consequently imitated from the Egyptian, has been lost. It is, in truth, with great difficulty that we can recognise in the *aleph* (see the second letter commencing at the right hand of the first line of the fac-simile,) the outline of the head of an ox (*aleph*) with its two horns.

Such is, nevertheless, without doubt, the most ancient alphabet of the Hebrews, which has obtained, in course of time, the name of the Samaritan alphabet. This historical fact reaches back to the period of the schism or separation of the ten tribes, carried captives to Babylon by Nebuchodonosor, in the seventh century B.C.

After the seventy years' sojourn in Assyria, these Israelites returned to their country, bringing with them, however, a new alphabet of Chaldaic origin. (See the article on Hebrew writing.) This new alphabet was used by the ten tribes, and now bears the name of the Hebrew or Hebrew-Chaldæan; whilst the two other tribes who inhabited Samaria, preserved their ancient alphabet, which has retained to the present time

the name of Samaritan*. The religious schism which arose between these two portions of the people of Israel, and which set the temple of Garizim in opposition to the temple of Jerusalem, engendered also another perpetual schism, that which subsequently existed in the graphic system of the two nations, which previously formed only one family.

The Samaritans are essentially distinguished from the Jews in this, that they consider only the five books of Moses, or the Pentateuch, as of divine authority; and the Samaritan text of these books has been valued on account of the antiquity generally accorded to it.

The number and value of the letters are the same both in the Samaritan and Hebrew alphabets, as ought to be the case, since they are used to write two idioms of the same origin, equally belonging to the great Arabic or Semitic stock, and differing only from each other in certain words or phrases.

The fac-simile in the Plate is taken from a fine manuscript† in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, containing the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is a thick folio volume, carefully written on

* It will be obvious, that this theory, however ingenious, is wholly at variance with the received history of the Jews, as based on Biblical authority, according to which the *ten* tribes of Israel in Samaria were carried away captives to Babylon by Shalmaneser, about B.C. 721, in the reign of Hoshea (2 Kings xvii.), and the remaining *two* tribes of Judah were similarly carried away by Nebuchodonosor, B.C. 606, in the reign of Jehoiakim, from which period the seventy years' captivity are to be reckoned (Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10). The people still using the Samaritan character, are supposed to be descendants, not of the Jews, but of the nations established in Samaria by Esarhaddon in the place of the ten tribes. (2 Kings xvii. 24; Ezra iv. 2—10).—Ed.

† This is the manuscript brought by Pietro Della Valle from Damascus, in 1616, from which Joh. Morinus published the text in 1631. It is only by conjecture that it is assigned to the end of the eleventh century, and it would be desirable to have some more certain evidence of its age, since in its writing it corresponds very exactly with the first portion of the Cottonian MS. of the Pentateuch, Claud. B. viii. which was written at Damascus in the year 764 (A.D. 1362). Another Samaritan MS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi (Peiresc, 2), was considered by Morinus and Kennicott the oldest extant, and assigned by the latter to the tenth century.—Ed.

vellum, in large massive letters; the phrases being separated by short blank spaces. A note in the manuscript, which merits confidence, states that it was executed at the end of the eleventh century. Few Oriental manuscripts extend back to so early a date*.

PLATES XXII.—XXV.

HEBREW WRITING.

FROM THE X^TH TO THE XVTH CENTURY.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

In the notice on Arabic writing some general observations will be made on the Hebrew language, the language of the original books of the Old Testament, which are the foundation of the Christian faith among modern nations.

It will therefore only be necessary here to consider the system of writing in use among the Hebrews, merely remarking, that numerous proofs of the knowledge and practice of writing occur in the books of Moses, as might be expected; since Moses, brought up in the knowledge of the sciences of the Egyptians, could not be ignorant of the art of fixing the language by signs, as used in Egypt, where this art was generally practised, and served to cover the public monuments and books with written documents, a considerable number of which, anterior even to the time of Moses, still exist; the Egyptian obelisk at Paris, that of Luxor, being contemporary with this illustrious prophet.

Moses was therefore necessarily acquainted with the Egyptian writing, and the elements of its system; he knew,

* This remark is not quite accurate. Very many Syriac MSS. exist written at a much earlier period, and several others might be specified in the *Coptic*, *Arabic*, and *Armenian* languages, anterior to the tenth century. —Ed.

and the monuments themselves teach us, that the system was composed of three species of signs simultaneously employed, namely, figurative, symbolical, and phonetic. Egypt, which had invented writing, or at least a system for her own use, had successively arrived, by the gradual perfection of this system, at these three classes of signs, and their regular combination. But Moses, the lawgiver of a new people, being well convinced of the social utility of the art of writing, and profiting by the knowledge he had acquired from the Egyptians, selected from their entire system its most easy, although most metaphysical portion; and then proceeding on the same principle as all other nations endowed with a moderate degree of culture have done,—the Chinese and some other semi-civilized peoples excepted,—he adopted the phonetic system, to the exclusion of the two others, and gave to the Hebrews, (if they did not already possess it,) a purely alphabetical system. It is in this regular system of graphic signs that the books of Moses are written.

The traces of the Egyptian origin of the alphabetical writing of the Hebrews, as an imitative system, are not yet absolutely effaced. The younger Champollion first made this observation in 1822*, and the learned Hebraist, William Gesenius†, subsequently, in 1829, extended the application of this remark to all the alphabets called Semitic. This requires only brief explanation.

The *words* by which the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are designated, have a precise signification; *aleph* signifying an ox, *beth*, a house, *ghimel*, a camel, &c., and these names are very ancient, since they were transmitted by the Phœnicians to the Greeks, when they gave them an alphabet. The first letter of each of the words is therefore precisely the vowel

* *Lettre à M. Dacier.* Paris, 1822, p. 34, (page 59 of the *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*, 1824).

† *Thesaurus linguæ Hebrææ et Chaldææ.* Lips., 1829, p. 1.

or consonant which these words are used to designate. So also in the Egyptian system, the name of the hand, *tot*, gave the letter T; the name of the Pan's-pipe, *sebi*, gave S; that of a vase, *kelôl*, gave K; that of a lion, *labo*, gave L, &c.; and if, as M. Gesenius conjectures, the primitive figure of the Hebrew letter approached, although rudely (*quamquam rudius*,) to the form of the object designated by the name borne by the letter, we should have completely the Egyptian phonetic system. Moses would imitate this system for the Hebrews, and each sign of the primitive Hebrew writing would be reduced from its figurative form to the Egyptian hieratic form, which was only a tachygraphy or abridged form of the pure hieroglyphic, representing a material object in all its details. Thus many learned writers have recognized in the most ancient form of the Hebrew *aleph* the outlines of the head of an *ox*, the name of which is also that of this letter; in the letter *beth*, the form of a house; in the letter *ghimel*, the neck of the camel, &c.*; and in this argument we ought to refer to the forms really antique of the alphabets of the Semitic nations, to whom Egypt taught so many other things.

Unfortunately these ancient forms are but little and insufficiently known; and if the use of writing among the Hebrews was unquestionably contemporaneous with the days of Moses, the monuments in which the antique shapes of the Hebrew letters are to be found, are of far less early date. These monuments are the coins of Jerusalem, considered by some writers as having been struck before the period of the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, the legends of which are inscribed in Samaritan characters.

The most learned Oriental scholars, together with the texts of ecclesiastical history, and the traditions contained in Holy Writ itself, all agree upon these important points of discussion, namely, 1st, that the Samaritan writing was con-

* See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 1, 171, and 252.

temporaneous with Moses; 2ndly, that in respect to the Pentateuch, the Samaritan alphabet was used by him; 3rdly, that this writing was the only one in use among the Jews up to the period of the Babylonian captivity; 4thly, that the Jews who were carried into captivity adopted the Hebrew alphabet now known to us, and employed no other in the writing of their sacred books; and 5thly, that this Hebrew alphabet is of Chaldæan origin, and is the only one used in writing the Chaldee texts of the Bible.

It results from these unquestionable historical deductions, that the alphabet named Samaritan was the primitive alphabet of the Hebrews, and that the alphabet named Hebrew, employed in the portions of the Hebrew Bible copied in the four Plates accompanying this notice, was with them an alphabet of a secondary epoch; that it was in consequence of the Babylonian captivity the Hebrews abandoned their primitive, and adopted this secondary alphabet, which was that of their conquerors, under whom they were captives during seventy years, and that they afterwards only used the Chaldæan alphabet; and lastly, that it was in this Chaldee character that the copy of the Scriptures was compiled by Esdras after the return from the captivity*.

A comparison of the Samaritan and Hebrew alphabets will shew at once how much they differed in the forms of their letters, although they were alike as to number and expression; both being used to write the same idiom, the Hebrew-Samaritan or Hebrew-Chaldæan.

The signs of the Samaritan alphabet are unsightly, and bizarre in shape, large, and complicated by curved or broken lines; and the linear analysis of these signs exhibits no methodical combination of one or more primitive elements.

* Lamy, *Apparatus Biblicus*, p. 305, English Ed., 4to., Lond., 1723. [See Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 140, 8vo. Lips., 1815.—Ed.]

The Hebrew alphabet, on the contrary, is simple and regular, and all its signs incline to a square form, requiring only a limited space, and appearing to be formed by the varied but rational combination of a single element, which consists of a short straight line, nearly acute at one end. Such is the alphabet which the Hebrews brought from Chaldæa, and the alphabet of the Chaldæan books do not differ in any respect therefrom.

It was, therefore, under the influence of Chaldaic and Babylonian institutions, that the Hebrews abandoned their ancient alphabet and adopted that of the Chaldæans.

Reduced to these simple historical data, this proposition would appear to deserve serious consideration and attentive research, since it is certain that at the period of the captivity of the Hebrews at Babylon, in the seventh century B.C., the whole of Assyria employed the cuneiform writing, which was formed in like manner from a single element,—a straight line, somewhat sharpened at one end like a wedge, which was variously combined together to compose the different signs of the Chaldæan alphabet.

The signs of this alphabet, as they still appear on the Babylonish monuments and edifices, exhibit this element employed alone, or combined with one, two, three, or four similar ones, in order to form a single alphabetical sign. Some are of smaller dimensions than the rest, or semi-wedges; but all of them merely *approach* together, without being *united* by thinner strokes, as is the case in our own alphabet, in which the three strokes of the *m*, joined together, constitute but one letter; and this mutual isolation of four or five wedges forming one letter, like the *t*, *m*, *a*, or *i**, may be explained, either by usage or by the exigencies of the art of writing upon stone, in which rectangular strokes might easily be traced, but rounded strokes engraved with difficulty.

* See the Cuneiform alphabet of M. Burnouf.

Thus, the new alphabet which the Hebrews acquired at Babylon was, like that of the Babylonians, composed of a single element, consisting of a straight line, acute at one end and broader at the other extremity, which was reduced sometimes, without any change of figure, to half its length, and when multiplied to the number of four or five strokes, and combined together in different positions, composed all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Since the same elements, combined according to the same rules, rigorously constitute the alphabet, or graphic signs of the alphabet of the Babylonians, it is difficult to reject the idea which naturally thence arises, and which points out in this identity of constitution of the two alphabets one common origin; and as the existence of the cuneiform Babylonian alphabet extends back in its monuments to a period much anterior to that of the captivity of the Hebrews in Assyria, and since it was from this time that the Hebrews abandoning their national Samaritan alphabet, adopted the one now bearing their name, the genealogy of the two alphabets seems to be historically established. The Hebrew alphabet, therefore, is derived from the Babylonian, and is a cuneiform alphabet of the second generation*.

A careful examination of the forms of all its signs will prove, in fact, that each of them is composed of one or more wedges, that the semi-wedge is used as an auxiliary, and that all the signs may be decomposed into this cuneiform element.

We are unable to proceed here with this analysis, but its probability cannot, we think, be denied, especially

* The soundness of this theory is very questionable, and it would seem infinitely more probable that the Hebrews borrowed, not from the cuneiform alphabet, but from a cursive Babylonian character, which was used synchronously with the cuneiform. See Rawlinson's remarks on this subject, in his Memoir on the Behistun inscription, p. 31.—Ed.

if we take into consideration, 1st., the modifications which the lapse of time has imparted to rectangular and square forms, and which the elegance of writing has slightly rounded; 2ndly, the practice of combining the signs together, when written with a pen or reed, which the sculptured nature of the cuneiform writing would not allow; and 3rdly, the slight differences existing between the fine Hebrew capitals and the minuscule writing generally employed in the text of manuscripts.

We must not, however, omit to notice, that the cuneiform writing is ranged from left to right, whilst the Hebrew writing, on the contrary, runs from right to left.

It is time now to return to the Hebrew alphabet in its actual state and use, as adopted since the days of Esdras the scribe. It appears on the Hebrew shekels of the era of the Maccabees, and it is used in a great number of ancient funerary inscriptions, composed for Israelites who died in Europe.

This alphabet is composed of twenty-two letters, all consonants; according to the general usage among Oriental nations to suppress the vowels. A period, however, arrived when it was necessary for the Hebrews to have recourse to some substitute for the vowels, and a system of fourteen vowel-points was established in their place, to which was added a system of twenty-nine accents, serving to regulate the reading and intonation of the Hebrew words. These orthographical inventions were the work of the Masorites, Jewish doctors in the celebrated academy of Tiberias. They do not possess a high antiquity. Origen, St. Jerome, and the Talmud do not mention them, and the sacred texts read in the synagogues are only written with the twenty-two letters of the alphabet. Lastly, amongst modern Hebrew scholars an opinion has been entertained, that the vowel-points and accents are not indispensable; the learned Père Houbigant, of the Oratoire, was of this opinion, and printed his magnificent Hebrew Bible and

grammar without either vowel-points or accents. These signs, by too strictly regulating the phonetic reading of the Hebrew words, might, in fact, occasionally detach them from their real etymology. It is known, moreover, that the respect paid to the Hebrew text of the Bible, and the desire to possess faithful transcripts of it, has led pious critics to ascertain how many times each of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet ought to be found in a copy of the Bible, to render it authentic.

The Plates illustrating these remarks exhibit various specimens of Hebrew writing.

The specimen given in Plate XXII. is copied from the large Hebrew Bible, written upon vellum, belonging to the Abbey of St. Salvatore, at Bologna. The capitals and minuscules are equally remarkable, the former being ornamented with figures of animals or foliage within the thick strokes. This fine example of capital and minuscule Hebrew writing, with vowel-points and accents, is attributed to the tenth century*.

The Plate XXIII. contains seven fac-similes taken from various manuscripts written at different periods.

The specimen No. 1 is from a vellum Bible in fine square letters, dated in the year 1208; the vowel-points are added by a more recent hand.

No. 2 is from a complete Bible written in the year 1061; the character has the Italian type, which closely approaches to the Spanish. This manuscript was preserved at Bologna in the year 1399.

No. 3 is from another vellum manuscript (marked No. 3), containing the entire Bible, enriched with beautiful ornaments.

* The authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique,* tom. i., pl. xvi., refer this manuscript to the end of the twelfth century, and the Abbate Trombelli says of it "sæculi fortasse xiii., aut in fine xii.," ap. Blanchini, *Evangeliar. Quadruplex,* pt. ii., vol. ii., p. dcvi. This is probably the true date.—Ed.

It is attributed to the fourteenth century, and has the arms of Henry IV. King of France, on the binding.

No. 4 is from a vellum Pentateuch, anterior to the fifteenth century, having been sold in the year 1425. It is in the German Hebrew character, characterized by very acute tail-strokes.

No. 5 is copied from a Hebrew manuscript, (marked No. 4,) containing the Bible in two volumes folio, upon vellum, assigned to the fourteenth century. The tops of the letters ending in forms like the clapper of a bell, indicate the Hebrew type of Spain.

Under No. 6 is placed a short extract from the Commentaries of Rabbi Solomon Rashi*, taken from a vellum manuscript, (Sorbonne, No. 225,) the character of which is rather rounded.

The last specimen, No. 7, is that of modern Hebrew, called cursive Rabbinical, the principal character of which consists in the practice of rounding and sloping the greater part of the strokes. It is copied from a vellum manuscript, (No. 317,) containing the translation of several treatises of Aristotle into the Arabic language in Rabbinical writing. All these seven manuscripts belong to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

The text of Plate XXIV. is copied from a manuscript belonging to the Duc d'Aumale; a magnificent roll of the reddish morocco of the Levant, containing the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. This copy of the Books of Moses, in fine large and massive minuscule letters, some of which are orna-

* This is altogether an error. The fac-simile in question forms no part of Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch, but is taken from the text of Deuteronomy, chap. xi., vv. 26—30, and written in the *Rashi* character. It is erroneous also to cite the celebrated Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, as Solomon *Rashi*, since the name of *Rashi* bestowed on him, is itself only a compendium of the initials of *R*abbi, *S*olomon, and *J*archi, as every Hebraist knows.—Ed.

mented with superfluous strokes or tufts, without vowel-points or accents, was taken in the synagogue of Medeah during the first campaign of His Royal Highness in Algeria.

Plate XXV., intitled "Alphabet Hebreu," exhibits the different letters of this alphabet, five of which have two forms, —the ordinary form, and that which they assume when written at the end of a word. We here see all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet perfectly developed. The scribe has, however, in endeavouring to render them elegant, introduced too many rounded strokes.

PLATE XXVI.

ETHIOPIC WRITING.

FROM THE XIITH TO THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS.

In regard to the use of writing in Ethiopia, as well as in every other region of the East, whose social existence and history reach back to the first pages of the human annals, it is impossible to form exact ideas, except as to its actual state, or at least as to the effects which the latest political revolutions to which these regions have been subject, have produced in reference to this art. Thus, with respect to Ethiopia, the specimens in the accompanying Plate are copied from the writing used at the present time, the last which it has adopted; the most modern, in short, of those which it has at different times employed. Of these latter, it is true, there remain but very few original examples; but the testimony of history in part supplies their absence, and with an authority, which the written monuments still preserved, and success-

fully studied by European criticism, have rendered irrefragable.

It cannot, in fact, be doubted, from the unanimous consent of classical antiquity, that there existed in the most ancient epochs of the history of Ethiopia and Egypt, a complete community of political organization, religious belief and worship, language and writing, between the two kingdoms. According to the same authorities, Egypt was but the offspring of Ethiopia; and the magnificence of Meroe, the capital of the latter kingdom, must have preceded that of Thebes and Memphis, the capitals of Egypt.

It is true, that there exist in Ethiopia, about the region of the Nile, more than 200 leagues to the south of the confines of Egypt, monuments entirely Egyptian in their architecture, language, and writing; but they were erected by the kings of Egypt, who were conquerors of this country. Moreover, when the kings of Ethiopia conquered Egypt in their turn, they only employed, for the monuments of their reign erected there, the language and writing of the country; and, lastly, when the Ethiopian kings, having shaken off the Egyptian yoke, erected in Ethiopia the monuments which still exist, they alike made use of the Egyptian language and writing.

From these facts the evident conclusion may be drawn, that the institutions of Ethiopia and Egypt were identical; and that the Egyptian writing is the oldest of those employed in Ethiopia.

An irruption of the Hamyarite Arabs into Ethiopia is referred to a very early period; numerous invasions of the Arab kings of Mareb on the western shores of the Red Sea, which they had crossed, are stated also to have been made; and it is to these circumstances that the earliest Arab influences, and the introduction of an Arabic dialect into Ethiopia, are to be assigned; for such is the real nature of the actual language of

northern Ethiopia. It is unknown, however, what sort of writing was in use among the Arabs at that period.

But to appreciate clearly this singular fact, of the early prevalence of an Asiatic language in an African country, we must also take into account the introduction of Hebrew books into Ethiopia. It is asserted, that at a period anterior to the Christian era, the Hebrews of Palestine had penetrated into Ethiopia, and there had propagated their language, analogous to that which the Arab tribes had already introduced. The Samaritan or primitive Hebrew writing must have entered into Ethiopia with the Hebrew books, and Christianity has preserved it there up to our own times.

The Ethiopic language, according to the most learned ecclesiastical critics, is a mixture of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic, which means, that Ethiopia is also a branch of the great Arab stock, and it is to the Samaritan alphabet that the origin of the alphabet of Ethiopia is referred.

There is, in fact, an evident resemblance of form between the letters of the two alphabets, but there are also strongly marked differences, the most striking of which is, that the Ethiopic writing is read from left to right, like the Indian and European; while the Samaritan is, like the other Arabico-Semitic writings, read from right to left.

Moreover, the Ethiopic alphabet is a real syllabic system; each of its consonants, twenty-six in number (the twenty-two primitive Samaritan letters, and four other subsequently added, to express sounds peculiar to the Ethiopic language), being adherent to one out of seven vowels, and thus forming a syllable. A regular punctuation facilitates much the reading of the Ethiopic texts.

The specimen No. 1, exhibits an ancient form of these characters, attributed to the twelfth century; the figure of the Evangelist added, has no other merit, than that of being an effort of Ethiopian art.

The fac-simile No. 2, is modern, copied from a fine manuscript of the Book of Enoch, brought from Ethiopia, and presented to Louis XV. by the English traveller Bruce. No. 3 is quite of our own times. All these three manuscripts belong to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

PLATES XXVII.—XXVIII.

SYRIAC WRITING.

FROM THE XITH TO THE XVITH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

ALTHOUGH the Syriac language is represented in the manuscripts which furnish the two accompanying Plates by a peculiar alphabet of its own, yet it is in reality one of the idioms of the great Arabian family; and it cannot be too much insisted on, that the nature of alphabets and the signs of writing, which depict to the eye the sounds of a language, are quite independent of the language itself; for, although it may be difficult (yet not impossible,) to write them all with one and the same alphabet, nothing is easier than to write one language with several alphabets; the *form* of the letters is immaterial; it is sufficient that their phonetic *expression* shall present the inflexions and sounds of the language.

The Syriac language differs but little from the Hebrew, and still less from the Chaldaic, being related to both, and formed after the more recent of the two; having succeeded to them in Judæa, Phœnicia, and Mesopotamia, but rendered essentially distinct by the great number of Greek words which this language adopted during the rule of the Seleucidan kings in Syria.

This language is of the highest importance in the interpretation of the Sacred Writings. The Syriac version of the Pentateuch, made from the Greek, is very ancient, and the greater part of the books of the New Testament were originally written in Syriac; Christ, also, and his Apostles, spoke the Galilæan tongue, one of the four dialects of the Syriac. It has now ceased to be the vernacular language, but is that of the Church, and of the books of the Syrians and Maronites, who speak Arabic, and who write with the Syriac alphabet*, when they do not wish their writings to be read by the Mahometans.

The use of writing ascends to a very early period in those regions where the Syriac was the common language; the ancient alphabets there were the same for all, and new ones were only invented, as new political or religious divisions separated powerful nations into numerous tribes or sects.

For the peoples speaking the Syriac language, the alphabet of the inscriptions of Palmyra† may be considered as one of the most ancient among those of the second epoch; the text of these inscriptions, which are of the Roman period, being in the Syriac language.

The two Plates, XXVII., XXVIII., give specimens of several other Syriac alphabets, very analogous to each other in the form of the letters, and of the same origin.

The example No. 1, is taken from the Pentateuch of Moses translated into Syriac; a vellum manuscript, attributed to the eleventh century, and written in the character named *Estranghelo.* This writing, which in general is large and heavy, is employed on monuments, in the most ancient manuscripts, and for the titles of works, as a kind of majuscule. It is found in some lines of Syriac engraved at the side of the celebrated Chinese inscription of Sighanfu, which is dated in

* This class of manuscripts is termed *Carshunic,* the derivation of which term seems very uncertain.—Ed.

† See Gesenius, *Scripturæ Phœniciæ Monumenta,* pl. 5, p. 80.—Ed.

the year 748 of our era. All the Syriac manuscripts anterior to the year 800, are in the Estranghelo character*, but a century afterwards, a new character (the *Peshito*) was invented by the Nestorians, as more convenient or more elegant than the Estranghelo.

The specimen No. 2 is also in the latter character, but neater and more elegantly written, with the titles rubricated. It is from a manuscript of the New Testament (the Epistle to the Thessalonians), dated in the year 1529. But as the Syrians retained the custom of dating from the establishment of the kingdom of Syria by Seleucus, the Syriac dates of the Seleucidan era must be reduced by 311 years, in order to make them correspond with the Christian era, which will give A.D. 1218, as the real date of the manuscript before us.

The fac-simile No. 3 is copied from a manuscript of the Sabæans, or rather of the Christians of St. John of Mesopotamia or Mendaïtes, a tribe thus named, although their religion has nothing in common with Christianity. This manuscript, which is modern, is intitled *The Book of Adam*, and it is written in the Sabæan idiom, which resembles the Chaldee of the Talmud. The writing, like the idiom, is of Syriac origin; its form is rectangular, and contorted; the vowels, only three in number, are always written; there are altogether twenty-two letters.

The specimen No. 4 is from a ritual of the Jacobites of Syria, written in the Nestorian or simple Syriac character,

* A fac-simile of the celebrated Syriac manuscript of the four Gospels, written A.D. 586, and preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence, may be seen in Biscioni, *Bibl. Med. Laur. Catalogus*, fol., Flor., 1752, tom. i., with engravings (coarsely executed) of the paintings with which it is ornamented. Up to the year 1841, this Florentine MS. was the earliest Syriac volume known in Europe, but in that year, and in 1843, the British Museum acquired a large increase of very ancient Syriac MSS. from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, among which is one (MS. Add., 12,150,) written in the era of the Greeks 723, or A.D. 412, containing the lost treatise of Eusebius on the Divine Manifestation, and other works.—Ed.

which differs from the Estranghelo, in the more simple form of many of the letters, which are thus rendered more cursive. This alteration took place about A.D. 900, and the specimen is of the year 1281.

No. 5 is a beautiful but more modern specimen of Syriac writing. The manuscript from which it was copied contains the Syriac grammar of Abulfaragi, or Bar Hebræus, and is dated A.D. 1585.

Lastly, No. 6 is an instance of the writing of the Christians of St. Thomas, established in the East Indies, among whom the Syriac is also the learned language. This writing is very regular, and more agreeable to the eye than any of the others. The rubrics are abundant, and in these rubrics occur some words of the ordinary language of the countries inhabited by these pseudo-Christians.

All these six manuscripts belong to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

PLATES XXIX.—XXXVI.

ARABIC WRITING.

FROM THE VIIITH TO THE XVITH CENTURY.

ARABIC TEXTS FROM VARIOUS MANUSCRIPTS.

In reviewing the numerous and diversified series of specimens copied from the graphic monuments of those Oriental peoples which constitute the great Arabian family, it may be necessary to give, as concisely as possible, a general idea of the various branches of this ancient race, undisturbed mistress for a long period of the fairest regions of Western Asia, and known only during the historic period, as powerful tribes, differing in appearance, but equally celebrated. This summary, however brief, is the result of long and special inves-

tigations, and of important and well-considered facts. What follows, therefore, is borrowed from an unpublished memoir by the younger Champollion, entirely new in its general results, although composed more than thirty years ago*, intitled, "Aperçu général sur les peuples de race Arabe:"—

"The word *Arabia*," he writes, "designates that vast peninsula, which is separated from Africa by the Red Sea, from Persia by the great Assyrian rivers the Euphrates and Tigris, and by the Persian Gulf; and the base of which is washed by the Indian Ocean. This country was inhabited by different peoples unquestionably of Arab race, whom historians, in isolating them from each other, have at length erroneously considered as nations very different in origin, language, and religion. These peoples were, at the North-West, the Phœnicians; at the North-East, the Ninevites, Chaldæans, and Babylonians, or rather Assyrians; at the East, the inhabitants of Oman and Hajar; at the South, the Arabs of Hadramaut, and Yemen; and lastly, at the West, opposite to Ethiopia and Egypt, the tribes of Tehama, and of the Hejaz.

"The primitive religion of all these nations was the same, as well as their language; a positive proof of their common origin; but their forms of worship and idioms were variously modified according to the state of the peoples which adjoined the great Arab Peninsula; these modifications being the inevitable result of this proximity, and the mutual relations existing between these peoples."

The author of this memoir then designates the principal branches of the Arabian family in the following manner:—

1. The *Bedouin Arabs* of the desert, who have preserved to our times the primitive manners and customs, and the distinctive characters of the race. From them we may judge of the relative progress of the other branches of the same stock.

* This was written in 1839.—Ed.

2. The *Phœnicians*, placed between Asia, Africa, and Europe; the great navigators, and universal agents of the commerce of the Old World.

3. The *Chaldæans*, or *Assyrians*, inhabiting the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, who founded Babylon, and cultivated astronomy and the other sciences.

4. The *Hamyarites*, or Sabæans, who in Hedjr, Hajar, and Oman, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and in Hadramaut, were the agents of the Phœnicians for the transport of merchandize from India to Yemen, Babylon, and Tadmor; and who towards the Red Sea, inhabited Yemen and Tehama, extending themselves to the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb. They founded Mareb or Saba, resisted the Persians, preserved the use of the Arabic language, and carried it into Ethiopia, where it exists to this day.

5. The inhabitants of the *Hejaz*, where are situated Medina and Mecca; a tribe celebrated for its poets, and which trafficked with the Ethiopians on the Red Sea. They also settled in the environs of Mount Sinai, where they became subject to the kings of Egypt: others passed the Red Sea, and fixed themselves in the desert, bordered by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf.

In these five branches are comprised all the peoples, who under these or other denominations, are recorded in the primitive annals of Western Asia. A single language was common to them all.

The illustrious author of the *Voyage of Anacharsis*, observed more than half a century ago:—"Since our knowledge of its monuments has increased, we have become better acquainted with the nature of the Phœnician language, and we know that it differed but little from the Syriac. Both may be regarded as dialects of one common language, at one time diffused over Asia and Africa, and which, according to the diversity of country, has received the names of Phœnician,

Punic, Syriac, Chaldæan, Palmyrene, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopian. It is everywhere modified, but preserves everywhere the same character and the same roots."

To complete this general proposition, it is only necessary to add, that the language thus generally diffused over the East was the Arabic, the source of all its dialects, which are grouped round it, like branches from the same trunk; the Arabic alone having remained without admixture, and the Hebrew being only the Arabic of Palestine, the Phœnician the Arabic of Syria, and the Chaldaic the Arabic of Mesopotamia.

In producing the specimens copied from manuscripts which have preserved to us these various idioms, we shall have occasion to explain the characters by which they differ from the primitive type, and from each other, so as to determine, as far as possible, their relative antiquity.

According to the same order, we propose at first to treat of those graphic monuments generally termed Arabic, which belong to that tribe of this great nation, which from the earliest period has never borne any other name.

The sacred chronologists mention a dynasty of Arabian kings at Babylon before the time of Abraham, and the name of Arabia occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah, who wrote in the eighth century before the Christian era. There is no other historical document of so high an antiquity, in which the name Arabia, or Arab occurs, but tradition places them in the primitive period of history. The Hebrew patriarchs were of this ancient family.

The Arabs, properly so called, have only one great epoch in their long national history. Mohammed gave them the name. This great reformer reunited the dispersed Bedouin Arabs, imposed on them laws, with a new religion; and with these a formidable impulse, which in the seventh century of the Christian era subjugated Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe under their power.

All the researches of modern erudition are grounded therefore on these two great divisions of Arabian history; *before* or *after* Mohammed. What was the state of writing in Arabia during these two periods? This is the only question which we have here to investigate.

Up to the present time it has been generally admitted, that the written monuments of Arabian origin exhibit two different kinds of writing.

The first, which is employed in inscriptions sculptured upon monuments still existing in all the countries subject to the early Arab dominion, and in the oldest manuscripts, is characterized by the almost total absence of rounded strokes, and the prevalence of rectangular and stiff forms. This writing is named *Cufic*, having been invented in the city of Cufa, in imitation of the Syriac Estranghelo writing.

The second kind of Arabic writing is characterized, on the contrary, by its rounded and elegant forms, and is employed in all the manuscripts later than the tenth century. It is named *Neskhi*, and was invented by the vizier Ibn-Mokla, in the year 944.

Thus the *Cufic* writing is the most ancient of the two; the *Neskhi* writing not having been invented before the tenth century of the Christian era.

It is asserted, however, by Haji-Khalfa, a celebrated Turkish bibliographer, on the authority of a learned writer of the eleventh century, that three other kinds of Arabic writing were known anterior to the Cufic; namely, those of Mecca, Medina, and Basra;—and, in fact, the city of Cufa was not founded until after the death of Mohammed.

Other arguments of greater weight on this question present themselves.

The Mohammedan coins of Abd-Almalik, struck in the year 695, bear Cufic legends, whilst others of the same Caliph, but of an earlier date, have the legends written in a character

approaching the Neskhi. The same character is found on the coins of Damascus, Emessa, and Tiberias, struck under the Emperor Heraclius, and on a piece of glass bearing the name of an overseer of the finances in Egypt during the ninth century. These facts would seem to disprove the general opinion as to the origin and relative age of Arabic writing; doubts have therefore been thrown on the genuineness of these coins, the established ideas on the subject are persisted in, and the vizier Ibn-Mokla still retains the glory of having invented the Neskhi character.

Egypt, whose historical remains have thrown so much light on the study, both of ancient and modern times, has also contributed to disperse the errors so generally received respecting the successive invention of the Arabic writings. In her catacombs have been preserved Arabic manuscripts in the Neskhi character, contemporary with Mohammed, and three centuries previous to the supposed invention of the vizier Ibn-Mokla.

It was in 1825 that these new and important views were obtained by the illustrious Silvestre de Sacy, who received from Egypt two pieces of papyrus written in Arabic, but in the Neskhi character, whence he was at first led to regard them as of little interest; he subsequently, however, made the important discovery, that they were two passports, delivered by the overseer of the province of Memphis, giving permission to travel in Upper Egypt, and dated in the year 133 of the Hejira, or 750 of our era. This first discovery was followed in 1827 by another still more interesting; two other Arabic papyri having been found in the Egyptian Collection of Salt, purchased by Charles X., one of which was a letter dated in the fortieth year of the Hejira, or A.D. 660*. The invention of Ibn-Mokla and the priority of the Cufic writing were thus fully disproved; and the latest researches of the celebrated

* See the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. x., p. 209.—Ed.

French orientalist, will enable us to sum up the real history of Arabic writing in a few words.

The use of writing existed among the Hamyarite Arabs long before the time of Mohammed. It was called by them *musnad;* and all its letters were written apart from each other. It was not carried into Hejaz until a short time before the birth of the Prophet, and it came from Mesopotamia.

The introduction of Christianity extended the knowledge of writing among the inhabitants of northern and central Arabia. A Roman inscription of the time of Trajan mentions a *librarius Arabicus*, or *copyist of Arabic writing.*

Among all these tribes Arabic poetry had acquired a high degree of perfection; grammar had its precise rules, and prosody its learned and artificial laws.

Of the writings used in these times, the chief were the *Cufic* and the *Neskhi.* The graphic monuments discovered lead to the belief, that the Neskhi character is anterior to the Cufic.

The first of these, or Neskhi character, has undergone marked variations, and more or less alteration, in several of the countries subjugated by the Mussulmans, namely, in India, Persia, Africa, and Spain; the African writing having preserved a greater analogy with the Cufic, in its stiff and rectangular forms.

The letters of the Arabic alphabet are twenty-eight in number. Their form is modified slightly, according as they are written at the beginning, middle, or end of a word; many of them resemble each other, although expressing different sounds, and they are distinguished by dots placed above or below, which are termed diacritical points. The vowel-points supply the place of vowels, which are not expressed in Arabic writing.

The Syriac alphabet is considered as the original of the

rounded Arabic character, and it is believed that it existed in Hejaz, before its inhabitants received the angular character, which appears to have been invented at Cufa.

We may add, that the different Arabic tribes which were by their vicinity in constant communication with the great contemporary nations, in which the use of writing was universal, could not remain in ignorance of the art; so that the questions which have been under discussion, relate rather to the origin of the modern Arabic *alphabet*, than to the use of writing among the Arabs.

Their language is as ancient as their history; and it is most intimately allied to the Hebrew, which was spoken by Abraham, Joseph, and Moses. According to the best critics, the Book of Job was originally written in Arabic, and we cannot conceive that a literature could so far advance without the aid of some sort of writing; nor can we explain how, without this aid, the Arabs could have arrived at such perfection in their language and poetry. They had, in fact, previous to the time of Mohammed, their songs of war and of love; and they had established at Ocadh, a city of Hejaz, an annual concourse for a prize in poetry, and the successful poem was written in letters of gold, and suspended at the gates of the Caaba.

In the Plates belonging to this article are collected various specimens of the writing of the Mohammedan Arabs, of various epochs, and of the different countries in which it was used.

The five Plates, numbered XXXII.—XXXVI., contain specimens of Cufic writing.

The first three, of the seventh and ninth centuries, are without vowel-points and diacritical marks. The specimen of the seventh century is finely executed, and rendered more remarkable by the ornaments in gold. The specimens of the tenth century are less angular, and the points are added to the letters.

These five Plates contain passages of the Coran, and they are, as indicated more exactly in each plate, copied from the collection of the Abbate Lanci, at Rome. The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses numerous fragments on vellum of equal value.

Several examples of the round or *neskhi* character will be found in some of the plates of Greek, Coptic and Christian texts; but the specimens in the Plates XXIX.—XXXI. are chronologically arranged, in order to illustrate the history of Arabic writing.

The first Plate (XXIX.) contains two papyri brought from Egypt, one of which (No. 1) has been published and explained by Silvestre de Sacy*. It contains the passport given by Djaber, son of Obeïd, superintendent of the province of Memphis, to Samia Felibek and Feludji Halbé, both inhabitants of the monastery of Abu-hermes, with permission to pass into the Saïd (Upper Egypt), with their wives, provisions, and merchandize, without any hindrance. This passport is dated in the year 133 of the Hejira, or A.D. 751.

The papyrus No. 2, is hitherto unpublished. We are indebted to M. Reinaud, member of the Institute, for the following notice and translation of this document.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of the merciful and gracious God.

هذا كتب من حادم مولى ابى موسى وسس بن . . . .

A writing of .... the freedman of Abu-Moussa and of .... (overseers of)

عبد الملک بن يزيد على كورة منف . . . . امشمط اللحية

Abd-Almalek, son of Yezyd, in the province of Memphis, (for .....) a man with a grey beard,

* In the *Mém. de l'Instit. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1831, tom. ix., p. 66.—Ed.

اغثم ابيض بوجهه خيلان من اهل دير ابى هرمس من كورة

having white and black hair, of a pale complexion, with red spots on his person, dwelling at Deyr Abu-Hermes, in the province of ....

انا اذنا له بحمل بالفسطاط فى حرمه . . . .

we have permitted him to travel to Fosthath, with his family ....

. . . . الى انسلخ شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثلث و ثلثين و مايه

.... until the end of the month of the first Rebi, in the year 133.

فمن لقيه من عمال الامير اصلحه الله فلا يعرض له الى ذلك

The agent of the Emir (whom may God favor), who may meet with this man, must not trouble him in his occupations.

. . . . الاحل . . . . وكتب ابرهيم . . . .

.... at .... written by Ibrahim .....

. . . . سنة ثلث . . . وما . . . .

.... the year .....

In the second Plate (XXX.) is given (No. 1) a page of a miniature Coran, written on gazelle skin, in Cufic characters of great beauty, by order of the Caliph Haroun-Alrashid, in the year 182 (A.D. 798), and said to have been sent by the Caliph to Charlemagne*.

No. 2 is a specimen of the Arabic writing of the Maronite Christians; No. 3 is copied from a Coran taken at Tunis by Charles V, which appears to be of the thirteenth or four-

* In the library of the East India Company is preserved a manuscript of the Coran (wanting the first fifteen chapters) written on vellum, in a fine, distinct Cufic character, and supposed to be one of the seven copies executed for the Caliph Othman (ob. A.D. 655), and probably the most ancient copy extant. Such is the substance of a note prefixed to the volume by Major Rawlinson, by whom it was presented to the library in 1845.—Ed.

teenth century; it is in the African character. No. 4, on the contrary, is an example of Spanish Arabic; and No. 5, still more singular, is a Spanish text written in Arabic letters.

The specimen in the third Plate (XXXI.) is also copied from a Coran, and exhibits one of the most perfect models of Arabic writing; it is of the sixteenth century, and may be considered as a type in every respect worthy of imitation.

It is known, that the scribes of the East are distinguished by their efforts to acquire a perfect style of execution; and their success merits the greater praise, since they generally stand while writing, resting only on the left arm; and notwithstanding the inferiority of the kalam or reed, to the pens generally used in Europe, the modern Arabs succeed in producing the most elegant specimens of calligraphy. This fact is worthy of notice in a summary of the history of Arabic writing, of which the plates before us afford such admirable proofs.

PLATES XXXVII.—XL.

TURKISH WRITING.

FROM THE XVITH TO THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS IN THE TURKISH LANGUAGE.

From the bosom of the innumerable nomadic hordes of Asia, numerous conquerors have sprung forth, since the commencement of the world, who have successively overthrown the vast empires created in the course of time by the civilization of the East, and the introduction of its precepts into

the West; some of the latest of these terrible devastators continue to possess the thrones which were the fruit of their conquests. The Turks are still seated on the throne of Constantine, and rule the vast Ottoman Empire, the numerous tribes of which are united together by the uniformity of their religious belief, (the law of Mohammed,) and of their idioms, which are composed of nearly identical words, although the countries of these several tribes are far apart.

The Turkish language, like the nation by whom it is spoken, is of Tartar origin; but this nation is the finest portion of the Tartarian or Mongolian race; the tall European figure and long beard being characters of the white Caucasian race.

The language is composed of numerous dialects, but the most polished and perfect is that of the Osmanlis, the dominant portion of this nation in the Ottoman Empire, and its dependencies in Asia and Africa. This dialect, which is the language of the Government, and of persons of education, is much intermingled with Arabic and Persian words, and even with some Greek and Italian phrases. Its literature holds but a secondary rank, compared with that of Arabia and Persia, from which it has borrowed its best works. The pronunciation of the language differs very little from its orthography, which is not yet rigorously fixed.

It is not very easy, perhaps, to determine with certainty the period of the introduction of writing among the Turks. The Tartar race has only brought the art of warfare to perfection; the world is indebted to it for no one social idea; and it has borrowed everything from the peoples which it has subjugated, their writing, literature, and religious and civil institutions. The Ouïgours, who inhabited a portion of eastern Turkistan, in the Chinese empire, have gained a reputation for literary priority among the Tartar tribes, which

is referred back to a high antiquity; even some scientific inventions are ascribed to them. This nomadic people appears to have been one of the first to settle in the midst of cities; this is, in fact, their real merit; and it is ascertained, that their alphabet, asserted also to be very ancient, is only an imitation of the Syriac or Sabæan alphabet, communicated to them by the Nestorian Christians*.

One of the Plates (XL.) furnishes a specimen of this early writing of a Tartaric tribe. The Ouïgour alphabet is written in vertical columns, from right to left, and it was in use in Persia, under the successors of Zinghis Khan. The specimen is taken from a fine manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris†.

The Osmanlis, or Turks properly so called, adopted the Arabic alphabet with the Coran. In its present state the Turkish alphabet is composed of thirty-three letters, all, with one exception, imitated from the Arabic and Persian; this single letter expresses a nasal *n*, which is peculiar to the language of this people.

The accompanying Plates exhibit various specimens of Turkish writing. On the first (XXXVII.), is the Neskhi writing, straight and regular, of two sizes, as employed in the execution of a fine Turkish manuscript, intitled "*The Sunrise of Fortune and source of Sovereignty in the science of Talismans;*" the last word sufficiently indicating the vanity of its

* Davids, in the Introduction to his Turkish Grammar, 4to., 1832, p. xiv., combats this hypothesis, and refers the origin of the Ouïgour alphabet to the Zend.—Ed.

† This remarkable manuscript (dated A.H. 840 or A.D. 1436) contains a history of the *Miradj*, or fabulous ascension of Mohammed, and the lives of the seventy-two imams. The style of art exhibited in the miniatures is singular, and superior to what is generally found in Turkish manuscripts. Ouïgour manuscripts are rare in Europe, and one of the oldest (dated A.D. 1434) is in the Bodleian library, of which a fac-simile is given by Davids.—Ed.

subject. This work was executed in the year 990 of the Hejira (A.D. 1582), and a number of beautiful miniatures add to its value, one of which is carefully copied in the Plate.

The second Plate (XXXVIII.), exhibits two peculiar kinds of Turkish writing, namely, the *Jery*, in the two lower lines, employed in firmans and ordinances, characterized by an intermixture of words, a curvature of the lines from right to left, and the absence of the diacritical points; and the *Sulas* or *Shalsi*, in the two upper lines, which is generally used in titles and on monuments. Between these four lines is the *tugh-ra*, an imperial *paraphe*, or signature, written in azure ornamented with gold, being an assemblage of letters in a monogram, which is to be read, *Shâh-Suleyman-Khan-ibn-Selim-Khan-Muzaffir Daima*, the name of the Sultan Soliman, surnamed *Kanuni*, the legislator. The document which has furnished this fine specimen is a letter addressed by this Sultan to Francis I, King of France, on the subject of his exploits at Madrid; and its date, acccording to the Hejira, corresponds with the middle of February, 1526.

On the third Plate (XXXIX.), is represented a similar document of the seventeenth century; the *tugh-ra* occupies the upper part, and is written in thick and confused *Diwani*, being a hatisherif of the Sultan.

The other specimens on the same Plate exhibit two other varieties of Turkish writing; the grammarians of this language extend their number to six, besides the pure Arabic.

PLATE XLI.

MADAGASH ARABIC WRITING.

XVIIITH CENTURY.

MADAGASH MANUSCRIPT OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE.

THE name of Madagash is less known than that of Madagascar, but it is by the former title that the inhabitants themselves denominate this celebrated island, which belongs to eastern Africa, and claims a place in the historical traditions collected by the Greeks and Romans, in reference to the vast region which they name Taprobana, where, according to the natives, neither the constellations of the Bear nor the Pleiades were visible, and where the sun appeared to rise on the left; —vague statements, which may agree with Madagascar, whilst others relative to the same region are more applicable to Sumatra or Ceylon.

But the antiquities of the Madagashians bear but a slight relation to the subject of our work; it is their actual state which concerns the reader, especially their system of writing.

This language is classed among the numerous family of Malayan idioms, exclusive of the Asiatic Malay, and is named the African Malay. It is used nearly throughout the Island of Madagascar, where it is subdivided into a great number of dialects, which certain philologists have considered as so many languages derived from the same source, rather than varieties of one. Its principal roots are to be found in the Malayan and its derivatives, at Java, Timor, and other points of northern and southern Polynesia. We also recognize in it Arabic and Caffrarian, or Zanguebarian words; and this last circumstance has given rise to the question, Whether

the primitive Madagashian population was an African colony, subsequently colonised and civilised by the Malays? Nothing certain, however, can be stated on this subject.

As to the Arabic words, the question is less embarrassing. A tribe of Arabic origin existed in the island, pretending to have descended from the mother of Mohammed, and recognizing as its legitimate sovereign the chief of the family of the prophet, of which the direct line is nevertheless extinct.

Abounding in vowels, the Madagashian language is pleasing to the ear; and it is supposed to contain words regularly composed after the Greek method. It has produced a national literature, or rather a series of translations from the Arabic, comprising several books of geometry and astronomy, which enter into the course of public instruction.

At the first glance the Plate will shew, that the Madagashian writing is an imitation from the Arabic. It is true they have adopted the alphabet, but they do not give to the letters precisely the same pronunciation; so that the known form of a letter is not accompanied by the same sound as in the Arabic language. Its forms in other respects are rude, devoid of elegance, and evidently the work of an unskilful scribe.

The manuscript from which this fac-simile has been taken belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Its shape and materials are as unsightly as the writing. The volume is oblong, tall, and without proportion between the width and length. Its material is a sort of pasteboard paper, brown and coarse, formed of a vegetable substance merely beaten thin by manual or mechanical labour, and resembling an American species of agave.

The text of this manuscript contains a collection of prayers in the Madagashian language, mingled with Arabic passages; a certain proof of the confusion existing in all the social elements of the immense island in which the manuscript was

executed, where Africa, Asia, and Europe appear to unite together. It is unknown at present, whether, previous to the employment of Arabic writing, the natives possessed a national alphabet. The manuscript appears to have been written in the seventeenth century.

PLATE XLII.

ARMENIAN WRITING.

FROM THE XITH TO THE XVITH CENTURY.

VARIOUS TEXTS FROM LITURGICAL BOOKS.

THE three specimens of writing used in this Plate, exhibit only the latest state of the art of writing among the Armenians; this state having quite a modern origin, compared with the high antiquity assigned by certain Armenian chronicles to the earliest historical period of this nation. These refer to the twenty-second century before the Christian era, and mention at this distant period a Babylonian prince as flying from the tyranny of Belus, resisting him with success, and establishing a kingdom in the mountains of southern Armenia, which continued in the hands of his descendants until the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great.

Modern criticism has endeavoured to draw from these chronicles some historical facts worthy of confidence, but has been able only to deduce this probable conjecture, namely, that the Armenians were very anciently subjects or vassals of the monarchs of Assyria, and that they shared, in the order of time, the destinies imposed on this great nation by the successive conquests of the Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Mussulmans.

If, therefore, the history of the graphic art in Armenia is to be briefly traced, we must attribute to it, in the first place,

the use of the cuneiform characters, which were common successively in Assyria and Persia, and which are still found in the ruins of the city built on the shores of the lake Van, in Armenia*. Under the Persian domination, Armenia must also have become acquainted with the Zend and Pehlevi alphabets; with the Greek, under the Seleucidæ and the descendants of Arsaces and Tigranes; with the ancient Pehlevi under the Sassanides; with the Greek again under the Romans and Greeks; with the Syriac alphabet together with Christianity; and lastly, with a national writing, which is represented in the Plate. At the commencement of the fourth century, Armenia, abandoning the doctrines of the Magi and Zoroaster, adopted that of Christ; the Syrian missionaries visited them in great numbers, preaching the Gospel, founding churches and monasteries, and organizing an ecclesiastical hierarchy, of which the centre was in Syria. The Syriac language having become that of religion in Armenia, it was exclusively employed in their sacred and liturgical books; whilst the Armenian population did not understand it, or only acquired a knowledge of it after long study.

At the commencement of the fifth century a learned Armenian, named Mesrob, who deserves to be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, invented an alphabet applicable to the national language; from which period an Armenian literature, properly so called, arose. A perfect knowledge of the Greek language having been preserved within the country, the works of a number of the best Greek authors, sacred and profane, Aristotle and Plato, the Fathers of the Church, and the *entire* Bible from the text of the Septuagint, were translated into Armenian.

The Armenian alphabet, of which three specimens are represented in the present Plate, is thus a local invention of the fifth century of our era, produced by science, and diffused by royal authority throughout the two provinces of Armenia.

* See the article on Cuneiform writing, Plate XV.

Armenian writing, influenced probably by the usage of the Greek, is read from left to right, and the alphabet is composed of thirty-eight letters.

Four kinds of Armenian writing are distinguished, which were probably unknown to the inventor; but it may be easily understood how the introduction of these varieties could take place in a writing very much cultivated, which has so continued to our own times, and which has been adopted in printing.

The first of these varieties is a majuscule character used for writing on stone or iron, and employed in inscriptions, in titles of books, and in headings of chapters. The first letters of the examples Nos. 1 and 2 are majuscules of this kind.

Another kind of majuscule is composed of the figures of men, animals, and flowers, of which an instance is seen in No. 3, consisting of the figures of two birds.

The same specimen commences with a smaller kind of cursive majuscule, used by notaries and for ordinary matters.

The text of the specimen No. 1 is written in a large and very regular uncial character, and that of Nos. 2 and 3 in a rounded minuscule, of different sizes. No. 1 is taken from a vellum manuscript (No. 7), containing the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century*; and Nos. 2 and 3 are from a *Menologium* (No. 89), copied at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, for the church of Surat, in India, at the close of the sixteenth century. Both these manuscripts belong to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

* Westwood in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria* notices, that in the Burney MS. 277, ff. 43-4, in the British Museum, there are two fragments of the Gospels in Armenian, so similar to the specimen No. 1 given by Silvestre, as to make it probable they were written by the same hand. In the same work is described at length a manuscript of the Armenian Gospels formerly in the library of the Duke of Sussex, and now in the British Museum, MS. Add. 15,411. The date hitherto assigned to this volume, of the thirteenth century, is erroneous, since, as appears by the note at the end, it was executed in the year 770 of the Armenian era, A.D. 1321, during the reign of Leo V. in Armenia.—ED.

PLATE XLIII.

GEORGIAN WRITINGS.

XIVTH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.

THE apparent, and indeed real resemblance, which will be perceived at first sight, in comparing the specimens of Georgian writing with the writing of Armenia, are not the only analogies in the institutions of these two nations. Their territories are contiguous; their languages, although different, are ethnographically classed in the same Caucasian group; their historical traditions and social condition have been, and still are, nearly identical; their conversion to Christianity was contemporaneous, as well as the adoption of their actual system of writing; and lastly, the Georgian alphabet, like the Armenian, is written from left to right, in the manner of European alphabets, and contrary to the practice of the nations which surround and traffic with them.

Ancient Iberia, the primitive name of Georgia, is often named by the Greek and Latin writers; other traditions connect its history with the wife of Uriah and with King David, and subsequently with that of Alexander the Great, before whom must necessarily be placed the Medes and Persians; and during this interval of time there must have been various modes of writing the Iberian language, either nationally or in the manner introduced by the conquerors, so long as they remained masters of the country.

Iberia changed its name to Georgia, and the influence which induced this change effected also many others; the language was enriched or deteriorated by the introduction of

a number of words, at first Persian or Arabic, subsequently Greek, more recently Turkish, &c. The change of religion introduced a series of ideas and words entirely new both to the language and the mind; the Georgians, indeed, possessed ancient books, composed in a language free from these novelties, and also recent works, in which they occupied a large place; thus from that period there existed both an ancient and a modern language.

This ancient Georgian was written with an alphabet, the invention of which is attributed to King Pharnabases, a contemporary of the first successors of Alexander the Great, in the third century before the Christian era. This alphabet is said to have been preserved until the fifth century after Christ, and was used in writing the Georgian translation of the Bible made at that period.

But the Georgian alphabet generally known extends back to a much less remote antiquity; and its author is said to have been Mesrob, the inventor also of the Armenian alphabet, and its date the fifth century. The Georgian is therefore another of the numerous alphabets which owe their construction to the exclusive influence of Christianity, especially to the Greek Church. It is said, that the Georgians sent a Christian bishop and priests to Constantine the Great, to solicit his alliance.

In the course of time, therefore, an ancient and a new alphabet existed in Georgia, as there was an old and a new language; and the ancient, when the new came into use, was, (like the Slavonian in respect to the Russian,) reserved for the use of the Church and liturgy, and the new for ordinary purposes.

The Plate XLIII. combines specimens of these two kinds of Georgian writing. The first, in red ink, and the third, in double columns, belong to the sacred or ecclesiastical kind of writing. No. 1 is written in majuscule or capital

letters, and is a proof of the troublesome custom adopted by the Georgian scribes, to unite several letters together, forming a series of monograms, after the fashion of the Greeks, and very difficult to decypher. Superfluous ornaments also are not wanting, contributing not merely to the elegance, but the complication of the title.

No. 3 is written in the ecclesiastical minuscule character*. This alphabet consists of thirty-seven letters, which are independent of any other orthographical sign, being without accents, spirits, apostrophe, or punctuation, beyond the separation of the phrases by one or more points. Three majuscule letters (R, D, and L,) form the initials of the three paragraphs. This writing slopes a little to the right; the Armenian is generally upright.

No. 2 is written in the ordinary Armenian cursive letter. It is usually of a rounded form (thence called *round-hand*), and is therefore of a more pleasing appearance than the other, which, being rectangular, is called the *square-hand.* The use indeed of a more cursive writing than the latter, was required by a people, which so early as the twelfth century possessed a literature worthy of notice.

The specimens are copied from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris; the lower one being of the fourteenth; and the two upper specimens of the seventeenth century.

* Two early Georgian manuscripts on vellum, probably of the beginning of the fourteenth century, in this ancient character, are preserved in the British Museum, Add. 11,281, 11,282.—Ed.

PLATES XLIV.—XLIX.

EGYPTIAN WRITING.

FROM THE XVIIITH TO THE IST CENTURY, B.C.

MANUSCRIPTS UPON PAPYRUS, IN THE THREE DIFFERENT KINDS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING.

It is proposed in the present article to present an elementary sketch of the theory of the various writings which were in use in Ancient Egypt; since it is in this country that the invention and gradual perfection of this incomparable art is exhibited in all its phases, and its primitive constitution traced upwards from its final state.

The high antiquity of the origin of writing in Egypt, and its use on public monuments, excites the greatest curiosity; and the mind cannot but delight in investigating and describing the process adopted by the genius of man in those times called primitive, for the manifestation of thought, not only by a well arranged language, but by means of signs methodically constructed; in a word, the mode by which these two creations were made manifest to the human intellect; this first logic of language, and this first grammar of writing.

The ancient writing of Egypt is generally termed *hieroglyphic*, composed of signs called *hieroglyphics*, which are, in fact, as indicated by the name, *sacred sculptured characters*. These signs have not one uniform expression, and the differences, by which they are divided into three classes, most probably indicate the origin and progressive steps to perfection of the graphic system, as it still exists on the monuments of Egypt. Examples taken from the literature of two other ancient nations, among whom the perfection of the art of

writing is less complete than it was with the Egyptians, justify, so to speak, by their deficiencies, the division into three classes, which constitute the entire system successively completed*.

We will now proceed to state in what consists the ancient system of Egyptian writing; the diversity of its elements, the mode of their combination, and the modifications in the forms of the signs, which time and the social exigencies have introduced. On this subject the reader must carefully distinguish between the two ideas, so different in themselves, which the words *writing* and *language* represent; in language, the spoken word being the direct sign of the *idea*, but in writing, the phonetic *written* word only the direct sign of the *spoken* word, and thus the indirect sign of the idea.

In the system of writing of the Egyptians, two things must particularly be considered.

1. The material form of the signs which constitute the three kinds of writing, named

a. Hieroglyphic.
b. Hieratic.
c. Demotic.

2. The peculiar value or expression of each sign, which constitutes three species of signs, namely

a. Figurative.
b. Symbolic.
c. Phonetic.

1. *a.* *Hieroglyphic* writing, properly so called, is composed of signs representing objects of the physical world, as animals, plants, geometrical figures, etc., etc., the representation of which is either merely in outline, or entirely completed and colored. The number of these signs is about 900.

1. *b.* *Hieratic* writing is a real *tachygraphy*, or shorthand of the preceding. As it was not possible to delineate

* See the *Introduction*.

fitly the hieroglyphic signs without some knowledge of drawing, which could not have been universal, an abridged system of writing was invented for the use of those who did not possess it, the signs of which might be easily executed. This system, however, was not arbitrary, each *hieratic* sign being an abridgment of a *hieroglyphic* sign; as, for instance, instead of the entire figure of a lion, an outline of the hinder part of its body was drawn, and this abridged figure retained in writing the same value as the whole. Thus *hieratic* writing was composed of the *same number* of signs as the *hieroglyphic*, of which it was an abridgment in respect to the form of the signs alone; these abridged signs having the same value as the entire signs.

1. *c*. *Demotic* (or popular, or epistolographic) writing was composed of the same signs as the *hieratic*, being also an abridgment of the *hieroglyphic* signs, and preserving the same value; but the *number* of these demotic signs (which were used for the ordinary purposes of life) was *less* than that of the *hieratic* signs.

It is obvious, therefore, that these *three* kinds of writing, simultaneously used in Egypt, formed in reality only *one* in theory, and that a tachygraphic abridgment of the primitive signs (which were faithful imitations of natural objects by drawing or painting,) was adopted solely for use. These three kinds of writing were in general use; the first, or *hieroglyphic*, being only employed on public monuments, yet the humblest workmen made use of it for the commonest usages, as may be seen on the bricks of burnt earth, all of which bear an inscription in hieroglyphics.

The second kind, the *hieratic* or sacerdotal, was more particularly reserved for the use of the priests, who employed it in all their religious, scientific, or judicial proceedings.

Lastly, the third kind, the *demotic*, being the popular and most easy sort of writing, was employed in all ordinary affairs.

Clemens Alexandrinus states, that among the Egyptians, those who received instruction, were first taught the *demotic*, then the *hieratic*, and lastly the *hieroglyphic* kind of writing. This is the inverse order of their invention, but precisely the order which facilitates the study of them. We often find these three writings employed at the same time in the same manuscript.

As regards the *expression* or *graphic value* of these signs the theory is not less certain than their material classification.

2. *a.* The *figurative* signs simply expressed the idea of the object, of which they represented the forms; the idea of a horse, lion, or obelisk, is graphically expressed by the figure of each of these objects; the sense of these signs can offer no uncertainty.

2. *b.* The *symbolic*, or tropic, or enigmatical signs, expressed a *metaphysical* idea by the figure of a *physical* object, the qualities of which possessed a real analogy, according to the Egyptians, and direct or indirect, and nearer to or more distant from, the idea intended to be expressed. This kind of character appears to have been particularly invented for the expression of abstract ideas, especially belonging to religion, or the royal power, so intimately allied to the religious system. Thus a *bee* was the symbolic sign of the idea *king; arms raised up*, of the ideas *to offer* and *offering; a vase with water pouring out*, that of a *libation*, purification, etc.

2. *c.* The *phonetic* signs express the *sounds* of the spoken language, and possessed in Egyptian writing the same functions as the letters of the alphabet have in our own.

Hieroglyphic writing differs therefore essentially from the writing generally used at present, in this important point, that it employed at the same time, in the same text, in the same phrase, and sometimes even in the same word, the three sorts of characters, *figurative*, *symbolic*, and *phonetic;* whilst modern

writing, similar to those of the other nations of classical antiquity, employs only *phonetic* signs, that is to say, alphabetic characters, to the exclusion of all the others. No confusion, however, resulted from such a system, since a knowledge of the system of Egyptian writing was general throughout the country. Thus, the phrase *God created men* could be expressed quite clearly by hieroglyphic writing, as follows: 1, the word *God* by the *symbolic* character of the idea God; 2, *created*, by the *phonetic* signs representing the letters which formed the Egyptian word *to create*, preceded or followed by *phonetic grammatical* signs, indicating that the radical *to create* was used in the third person masculine of the indicative preterite of the verb; 3, *men*, either by writing the word according to the rules of grammar, or by tracing the *figurative* sign *man*, followed by three dots, the grammatical mark of the plural number.

The mode of teaching the graphical system of the Egyptians did not present any greater difficulty; the scholar, apprized of the nature of the *figurative* signs, had no effort of the mind to make, in order to retain the sense. The knowledge of the *symbolic* signs was a matter of nomenclature, which required to be committed to memory, as well as the rules as to the reason of the assimilations of certain figures to certain ideas; but the knowledge of the nomenclature alone would be sufficient for the greater part of them.

As to the *phonetic* or alphabetic signs, Egypt proceeded in the following manner to determine them. Habituated to an ideographic writing, delineating the ideas and not the sounds of a language, she could not arrive at once at the simplicity — arbitrary though it be — of our alphabetical system. Pledged to combine the form of the new signs with those, the use of which had already been established by long practice, she did not lay aside the figures of material objects, but continued their use; and after analyzing the syllables of

the language, and reducing its sounds to the simple elements, which are its letters, she resolved only, that the *figure* of an object, of which the *name* in the spoken language commenced with the sound A, should become in writing the *character* A; that the *figure* of an object, of which the *name* commenced with B, should become in writing the *character* B, and so forth. Thus, in phonetic writing, an eagle, which is named *Ahôm* in Egyptian, became the letter A; an incense-pot, *Berbe*, the letter B; a hand, *Tot*, the letters T and D; an axe, *Kelebin*, the letters K or C hard; a couching lion, *Labo*, the letter L; an owl, *Muladj*, the letter M; a mouth, *Rô*, the letter R, etc. It follows, consequently, from this first principle, not that all objects of which the names commenced with the letter R, became the graphic sign of this letter (which would have produced too great a confusion), but that *some* only of these objects, the commonest and best known, whose forms were the most plainly determinable and most easily written, were employed to represent the sound R; and so with the rest. There were, therefore, a certain number of *homophonous* signs, expressing the same sound in the written alphabet of the Egyptians, but the number of all the signs of this alphabet was not more than about *two hundred;* and it must not be forgotten, that in several of our European alphabets the number of signs approaches that of the Egyptian alphabet.

This writing by means of figures was, moreover, peculiarly appropriate to the usages of Egypt. Its edifices were covered with religious or historical tableaux, sculptured and painted on all the walls; it has been estimated, that in one single temple there existed not less than 30,000 square feet of sculpture, and at the sides of these tableaux innumerable inscriptions, equally composed of ingeniously grouped figurative signs, in explanation of the subjects, and combining with them far more happily than if they had been the finest alphabetical characters in the world.

In all these inscriptions the *phonetic* characters, expressing the sounds of the language, occupy *two-thirds*, the remaining one-third being nearly equally distributed between the *figurative* and the *symbolic* characters. This simple statement will sufficiently prove the importance of the discovery of the phonetic alphabet by the younger Champollion, and the services rendered by him to historical science.

It is also in the phonetic characters that *grammatical signs* were generally expressed, that is, those which served to express the articles indicating the gender and number of the nouns, to write the pronouns, to form the moods, tenses and persons of the verbs, and lastly, the adverbs and the prepositions. This system, therefore, afforded to the scribe who employed hieroglyphic writing, ample means to express an idea or phrase in all its conceivable modifications, and the clearness of expression was as complete as it could be in any other system of writing.

There is, however, an observation, which must not be omitted. According to the usages of all Oriental nations, ancient and modern, the middle vowels of words were omitted in the Egyptian writing; this would produce confusion in respect to words unlike each other in meaning, but written with the same consonants. Thus, the words *hib*, an ibis, and *hebi*, a plough, were traced in the same manner by two hieroglyphical characters expressing only *h* and *b*. All confusion of ideas and words, however, was avoided, by placing at the end of each phonetic word an additional *determinative* character, which determined the meaning of the word, and its real pronunciation. These *determinative* signs are most requisite to be known, and constitute one of the most essential portions of the hieroglyphic system.

These *determinative* signs are either figurative or symbolic; the signs of the *species*, or the signs of the *genus*. The former are only the figures themselves of the objects intended by the

written word. Thus, at the end of the letters *h t r* a *horse* was represented, to shew that the written word must be read *htoor*, signifying a *horse* in the Egyptian language. In the same manner a great number of names of animals and of other natural and artificial objects was designated, and the symbolic signs similarly employed had likewise the same destination.

As to the *generic* signs, they were usually added to all the individuals of the same genus; thus, the *lower half of the skin of an ox* at the end of all the groups of signs destitute of vowels, indicated that these groups were names of quadrupeds; the figure of *a goose* shewed, that the groups which it terminated were names of birds; a *tree* or *plant* designated the names of plants or trees; the *sun*, the names of all the divisions of time; lastly, the figure of *a man* was placed at the end of groups of names of men, or of his qualities and functions; and the figure of a *god*, *king*, or *country*, at the end of the names of God, of a king, or of a nation.

These elements, although few in number, throw great light on the written texts, and require no more attention than the accents, punctuation, or any other orthographical principle, in modern writing.

The precise classification of the signs also prevented any doubtful meaning; and if some of the signs, very few in number, changed their nature according to circumstances, for instance, if a *figurative* sign became *phonetic*, it was *noted*, that is, accompanied by a segment of a circle and a vertical stroke, which indicated in all these signs this temporary acceptation.

For *names of number* the Egyptians employed real cyphers, that is to say, signs independent of those used in writing, the nearly arbitrary form of which for the elementary cyphers, possessed also a conventional expression. These cyphers were of similar form in the three kinds of writing; but particular cyphers were used for dates.

The numerical system of Egypt was not more advanced than that of the ancient Greeks; both having been ignorant of the admirable function of the zero (0); and the value of the relative position of the cyphers. A number of documents have come down to us in cyphers, containing accounts and dates. There were special cyphers for the numbers 1, 10, 100, 1,000, and 10,000, in *hieroglyphic* writing; and when repeated, they expressed the same number so many times. In *hieratic* writing special signs indicated the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 9; the numbers 5, 6, 7 and 8 being expressed by the combination of the cyphers 3 and 2, 3 and 3, &c.; the sign of 10 was also special, and the addition of the units multiplied it, so as to signify three times 10, four times 10, &c.; there were also special signs for the numbers 100, 1,000, 10,000, &c. In *demotic* writing the cyphers were nearly the same as in the hieratic. Lastly, in all three kinds of writing the signs of the ordinary numbers were distinguished from those of the cardinal.

These remarks complete the sketch which we have endeavoured to furnish of the general system of writing in Egypt. There remains but little to add to these observations, which comprise all the fundamental elements of the system*.

The six Plates (XLIV.—XLIX.) which belong to this notice, exhibit specimens of the three kinds of writing, and of the different classes of numerical signs. The explanation of these Plates will illustrate some of their most important details.

The distinction of the three kinds of writing, the *hieroglyphic* (Plates I. and IV.), the *hieratic* (Plate II.), and the *demotic* (Plate V.), is the most important step in the study of

* See Dr. Edward Hincks's paper on the number, names, and powers of the letters of the hieroglyphic or ancient Egyptian alphabet, in vol. xxi. of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 4to. 1848, pt. ii., p. 132. —Ed.

Egyptian writing: their distinctive characters are not difficult to be understood.

1. The *hieroglyphic* writing consists of signs, which are the distinct figures of beings, and natural and artificial objects. These signs, named *hieroglyphics*, are either complete, like those on Plate IV., or merely *linear*, as on Plate I. The first were used to decorate the largest buildings; the second are found in manuscripts.

2. The *hieratic* writing consists of signs, which are still more abridged from the pure hieroglyphics, than the linear kind (Plate II.). The hieratic signs required no skill in drawing, being easily formed, and a real *tachygraphy*, which is the essence of the hieratic system; and each of its signs being the abridged representation of a pure hieroglyphic, possessed the like value, whether phonetic, symbolic, or figurative.

An Egyptian text, written in both these systems, will clearly demonstrate this essential element of their nature. This text is represented in Plate V., No. 3. Each *hieratic* sign (line 1) corresponds with the *hieroglyphic* below (line 2); in the first we recognize an abbreviation of the second; the two signs express the same ideas, and are read by the same words of the language (line 3), and express the same sense in French (line 4). The hieratic writing was read from right to left, and was employed by the priests for matters of importance.

3. The *demotic* or popular writing is derived from the hieratic, the signs having the same origin and expression in both; but the *phonetic* characters are of a more general usage in the demotic writing, since from its being employed in the most ordinary matters of life, and among the least educated classes, the *figurative* and the *symbolic* signs were generally excluded. The demotic writing is that used in contracts and public acts, of which Plate V. exhibits two specimens. Its use does not extend far back in the Egyptian annals, but the

hieroglyphic writing was contemporary with their earliest pages, and the hieratic character is not inferior to it in age.

All these remarks are borrowed from the work* of the author of the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, in which the "principes généraux de l'écriture sacrée Egyptienne appliquée à la représentation de la langue parlée" are developed.

The origin of the Egyptian language is unknown; it is found used under regular forms on the most ancient monuments of Egypt and Nubia, and if it descended, together with the population, from the upper regions of the Nile, its birthplace must be sought for in those regions. Science has in vain endeavoured to determine this point, and probably we shall always remain in ignorance of the real origin of the Egyptian language. No certain conclusions can be drawn from the evident analogies between the forms and words of this idiom, and those of every other language of Asia and Africa; in the midst of which the Egyptian remains isolated, without origin or descent, but exhibiting upon immense monuments the high antiquity of its existence in the long valley of the Nile. There it remained in use during the entire period of the Egyptian empire, notwithstanding the successive violent invasions of the Scythians, Ethiopians, Persians, Greeks and Romans. The written monuments which extend from Naga and Mount Barcal, two hundred leagues southward of the frontiers of Egypt, to the ruins of Alexandria, are explained by this language; and all those who have studied it profoundly have come to the conclusion, that it is a *mother tongue*, without relationship to any other. The early intercourse of the Assyrians, Hebrews and Arabs with Egypt, sufficiently explains how certain words from their languages occur in the

* *Grammaire Egyptienne, par Champollion le Jeune, publiée sur le manuscrit autographe de l'auteur.* Paris: Firmin Didot, frères, fol., 1836.

Egyptian, and reciprocally, how certain Egyptian words are found in the idioms of those different nations. It must be observed only, that the more civilized nation would of course exercise the greater influence; and that consequently the words which are found alike in Egyptian and Hebrew—or even in Syriac, Chaldaic, and Samaritan, dialects of the Arabian family—were, in all probability, introduced into the Hebrew by the effect of the connection of the Israelites with Egypt, and the institutions of Moses, who was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians.

The writers of classical antiquity speak of the Egyptian language, and cite a certain number of its words. St. Jerome makes frequent mention of it, and relates that the hermit St. Paul was equally skilled in the Greek and Egyptian languages, and that St. Anthony only spoke Egyptian. The Christian church in Egypt preserved this language up to the middle of the seventeenth century; its liturgical works are written in this national idiom, called the *Coptic*, which is identical with the ancient language of the times of the Pharaohs. The evident proofs of this identity have been collected together by the Abbé Renaudot, Jablonski, the Abbé Barthélemy, Silvestre de Sacy, and M. E. Quatremère. An additional mass of evidence exists in the great number of examples brought together by M. Champollion, in his *Grammaire Egyptienne*. The language itself, indeed, bears proof of its antique origin, as may be seen by the above summary view of its construction.

The Egyptian language is monosyllabic in its *primitive* words, and it may be asserted with truth, that every word of more than one syllable is a *derivative*, or *compound word*. From these *primitive* words or *roots* are formed by *derivation* or *composition*, a number of words used to represent, under differently modified forms, the *idea*, of which the primitive is conventionally the representative sign. The union of two or

more primitive or secondary roots constitute a *compound word.*

Three principal dialects of the Egyptian language are known, namely, the *Thebaic,* the *Memphitic,* and the *Bashmuric,* used in the province of Fayoum. By the influence of foreign domination in Egypt, its language has admitted a great number of Greek and Arabic words, and some few Latin; and these foreign words constitute entirely the difference which exists between the *Coptic* language (the modern Egyptian now no longer spoken, and but little understood even by the Coptic priests) and the ancient Egyptian language, which is that employed in all the Egyptian writings. In the place of these sacred characters, the *Coptic* language was substituted, when Egypt was christianized; and this Coptic alphabet is only the Greek alphabet, augmented by certain letters derived from the ancient demotic Egyptian alphabet.

A fortunate discovery has placed modern science in possession of a text written both in hieroglyphic and demotic characters, and followed by a translation in the Greek language. This is the celebrated Rosetta inscription*, which, after twenty years of persevering study, has afforded a key to the certain knowledge of the graphic system of the ancient Egyptians; a knowledge capable of enriching the annals of mankind with a considerable series of facts of the highest importance, belonging to periods to which historical criticism had hitherto been unable to penetrate, and reaching back at least ten centuries antecedent to the date assigned to the siege of Troy.

In reviewing one by one the subjects represented on the six Plates of the present article, we shall have occasion to point out the evidence in favor of those principles which have been stated, and to develope their application by examples.

* Preserved in the Egyptian Gallery, British Museum.—Ed.

The first Plate (XLIV.) is a fragment copied from a papyrus, in *linear hieroglyphics.* Although slightly abridged, each hieroglyphic is nevertheless very distinct and well formed, so that no doubt can exist as to its meaning.

The hieroglyphics were written either in horizontal or vertical lines, and are read from right to left, or from left to right, according to the position of the figures of the *men* and *animals;* the one before us is read from right to left, because the figures all look towards the right. The manuscript from which this fragment is taken, is generally known under the title of *Funeral Ritual,* but the Egyptians named it *The Book of Manifestations to the Light.* Many copies are preserved, owing to the practice of inclosing this religious formula in the coffins with the mummies. But, as there were mummies of all classes, the copies of this formula would be more or less complete, in proportion to the wealth of the deceased, and the greater or less expenditure at his funeral. Numerous copies are therefore very much abridged, so as to contain only short portions, whilst others are quite complete, in which case the papyrus is not less than sixty feet in length. That from which the fac-simile in Plate I. is copied, belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris; its length is forty-four feet, and its height is indicated in the copy. The top of the manuscript is filled with religious scenes, representing the soul of the deceased in a human form, clad in a long white robe, with the hands elevated, making an offering of flowers and fruits on an altar, to the Egyptian divinities, amongst whom are recognized the Sun or Phre, Thôth, and Osiris, whose suffrage was necessary to obtain a favorable judgment. The text contains the discourse or prayers, which the soul addresses to each divinity. In the papyrus before us the deceased was a female. We shall give below the reading of some hieroglyphic passages.

The second Plate (XLV.) is a portion of an Egyptian

manuscript in *hieratic* or sacerdotal writing. We have already seen, that the hieratic characters are merely abridgments of the hieroglyphic. This fac-simile is copied from a beautiful papyrus in the Royal Museum of the Louvre, one of the finest extant, as well from its rich execution, perfect preservation, whiteness, and pliability of the papyrus, as from its length, which is not less than forty feet. This manuscript is also a *funeral ritual.* The copies written in hieratic characters are less rare than those in hieroglyphics; but the two *editions* (as they may be called) are precisely alike, except in regard to the names and quality of the deceased. The hieratic rituals were also similarly abridged. Religious scenes ornament the text, not only at the top, but in the body of the page, but the papyrus before us exhibits a peculiarity, probably unique of its kind. The scribe had traced with black ink the square spaces intended to contain those religious drawings, which were subsequently to be inserted by the draftsman; but as their number was considerable, and the subjects very varied, a priest or chief scribe indicated before hand the subject to be drawn in each reserved space, by tracing an abridged outline of it with a lead pencil. Thus, in the principal scene of the fac-simile, three little boats are seen sketched in outline, at one of the upper corners of the vacant space, which informed the draftsman that this space was to be filled with the *scene of the three boats*, and which he therefore executed, without any mistake, from an official original. The same remark applies to the entire manuscript. It is a perfect specimen of hieratic writing, and scarcely any of the signs in it retain their hieroglyphic form. This writing is to be read from right to left; it is generally written in horizontal lines, and according to the disposition or height of the signs, two or more are placed above one another in the line. This hieratic text corresponds, sign for sign, with the same part of the ritual written in hieroglyphics.

The third Plate (XLVI.) exhibits a series of scenes from the same hieratic manuscript in the Louvre, which occur near the middle of the roll. In the first column, the soul, in a corporeal form, continues its devotions and offerings to the various gods of its worship. It presents, upon an altar, a vase of holy water, and a branch of papyrus to Osiris and Isis, characterized by their head-dresses. The larger scenes are delineated in four compartments. In the first, the god Thoth or Hermes writes upon a tablet the offerings made by the deceased, who is a female; in the two compartments beneath, the soul symbolically cultivates the fields of Truth in the celestial regions. The inscriptions which accompany the pictures of this *hieratic* manuscript are in linear *hieroglyphics;* but this mixture of the two writings is not rare in the written monuments of ancient Egypt.

In the fourth Plate (XLVII.) is presented a specimen of *hieroglyphic* writing in all its splendor and perfection. This kind of writing being essentially destined for the decoration of public monuments, nothing was neglected which could contribute to the precision, elegance, and richness of its general effect. The outlines of the signs were alike pure and expressive, and in the majority of cases this excellence was heightened by the brilliancy of the colors applied to each sign, according to fixed rules. Coloring was also employed, not only in the large inscriptions on the temples, but for those of less consequence, on mummies, and other written monuments. The hieroglyphic writing is found in these three different states, sculptured, sculptured and painted, traced in black outlines and colored. In general, the colors were applied in flat tints, so as to call to mind the natural colors of the objects represented. The Plate will also afford an idea of the *polychromatic* sculpture of the ancient Egyptians, at the period of art in its greatest splendor in this celebrated country. The scene before the reader is only a portion of a

very large painted bas-relief sculptured in the grand gallery or vestibule of the great *speos* or rock-temple of Ipsambul, in Nubia. In this vast *tableau*, which has not less than fifty feet of extent, are represented the Scytho-Bactrian ambassadors in the camp of the illustrious king of Egypt, Sesostris, or Remeses III. This king, in his military costume, and his head armed with a casque, is seated, holding a divine sceptre in one hand, and directing the other towards the group of ambassadors introduced by an officer, whose arm traverses two of the columns of writing. Two detached cartouches are seen parallel with the king's head. The group of signs, of which a bee forms a part, is composed of two *phonetic* signs, S, T, being an abridgment of the word *souten, the king;* the bee is the symbolic sign of an *obedient people.* The first sign in the cartouche is complex, being both figurative and symbolic; the figure on foot is that of the sun, surmounted by a disc; he bears in his hand the symbolic sign of the idea *guardian;* and in the other, that of *justice and truth,* personified in the goddess *Thmei.* The next sign is also figurative of *the sun,* and the group beneath signifies *approved of.* We thus read in this cartouche, "*The king of an obedient people, the guardian sun of justice and truth, approved by the sun.*" This is the religious *prenomen* of the king. The cartouche at the side of this contains his proper name. It is surmounted by a figurative sign, the disc of *the sun,* and a phonetic sign, *the duck,* together forming the word *Re-si,* the son of the sun. The two figures facing each other are those of the gods *Ammon* and *Re* or *Phre,* the Sun. The rectangular sign beneath their feet, is phonetic, M, abridged from *mai, the beloved,* and, the three following signs, of the same nature, express M, S, S. We read, therefore, the second cartouche, "*The son of the sun, beloved of Ammon and of Re**,

* More correctly, perhaps, "*beloved of Ammon*" only, since the figure of *Re* forms a component part of the name *Remeses,* as expressly stated by

(or Phre), Remeses." The two signs on the left hand are symbolic, and mean "*living for ever.*"

This fine work of art, the immense and admirable bas-relief of the *speos* of Ipsambul, is anterior by several years to the obelisk of Luxor at Paris, which is a work of the same king, Remeses III., Sesostris. The temple was built about the year 1560 B.C.

The fifth and sixth Plates (XLVIII., XLIX.,) complete the series of specimens of the three kinds of Egyptian writing, and exhibit its varied and numerous applications. The specimens 1 and 2 in the fifth Plate are in the *demotic* or popular writing. The precise date of the introduction of this kind of writing is not yet known. No. 1 is the protocol of a contract between private parties, regulating their separate interests; but this protocol, analogous to those of our judicial acts, states with its date, the name of the reigning king, and also the names of the principal officers of state. This demotic contract is of the period of the Greek government in Egypt, and of the eighth year of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, corresponding with the year 196 B.C. The demotic writing is always read from left to right, and this protocol is to be read thus:

"The eighth year, in the fourth [*month of*] Choïak, of the king Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the father-loving gods, and under the priest of Alexander, and of the brother gods, and the beneficent gods, and the father-loving gods, and of the king Ptolemy Eucharistes [*Ptolemy Epiphanes Eucharistes, the reigning king*], Demetrius, son of Sitalkes; and Areia, daughter of Diogenes, [*being*] the prize-bearer of Berenice the beneficent, and Nisis, daughter of Apelles, [*being*] the basket-bearer of Arsinoe, the brother-loving; and Irene, daughter of Ptolemy, [*being*] priestess of Arsinoe, the father-loving," &c.

Champollion le Jeune, in his *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique*, p. 220, 8vo., 1824.—Ed.

In order to interest the reader in the interpretation of this text, some of the principal groups are here analysed*. The first is characterized by the form of the sun's disc and a palm branch, signifying *the year*. The cypher following is 8. Next comes the name of the month, with the same cypher 8. The succeeding group is read *am-sten* (*am-souten*) *of the king*, followed by the proper name *Ptolemy*, which is again repeated a little further off in the same line. In the second line occur the names *Arsinoe* and *Alexander;* in the sixth and seventh lines the same name *Arsinoe*, twice; in the seventh also the name of *Ptolemy*, who is here a private person; the other Ptolemies noticed being monarchs of that name. Their name, like that of the queen Arsinoe, is always preceded by a crescent-shaped mark turned towards the left, which is an *m*, or the commencement of a royal cartouche, which always enclosed the royal names. The name of Ptolemy, the father of Irene, being only a private person, has not the cartouche.

The specimen No. 2 of the same Plate, is also a protocol of a contract of the same reign. The same names, *Ptolemy*, *Arsinoe*, and *Alexander* occur in it, together with those of *Dropion*, *Menapion*, *Demetria*, *Philinus*, *Irene*, and another *Ptolemy*, (at the end of the seventh line,) who was a private individual.

No. 3 of this fifth Plate has been already explained in a passage relative to the *hieratic* writing. This example is intended to exhibit at first sight the *correspondence* between the signs of the *hieroglyphic* writing, abridged into the *hieratic*. The reading, in the Egyptian language, is added beneath.

The sixth Plate (XLIX.) contains miscellaneous specimens, which shew the variety of those still existing, to illustrate the Egyptian annals.

* In the original text it is stated, that these groups are *underlined* in the fac-simile; but this is not the case, probably by an omission of the engraver.—Ed.

No. 1 belongs to a roll of papyrus, containing a text written in *hieratic* characters. This writing is traced in vertical columns, which occurs but rarely among hieratic manuscripts, which are generally executed in horizontal lines, and always written from right to left. In the fac-simile the direction both of the signs and lines is also from right to left.

Nos. 2 *A* and 2 *B* are copied from a register of receipts for sacred purposes, preserved in the Royal Museum of Turin; and is a fine specimen of *hieratic* calligraphy*. The name and royal prenomen of the reigning king are given at the commencement of the register, as a date. These royal names are both preceded in the *hieratic* specimen 2 *A* by a crescent turned towards the left; they are transcribed as *hieroglyphic* characters beneath, in No. 2 *B*. The first three *hieroglyphic* groups are easily to be recognized in the first three groups of the *hieratic* protocol. In both texts the cartouches follow immediately after these three groups. These names are those of one of the kings of the twentieth dynasty, named Remeses, who lived in the twelfth century, B.C.

The specimen No. 3, is also a fragment of the register of receipts, in the *hieratic* character. The lines are terminated by cyphers in red ink, and are read 4, 3, 4. The sign which finishes the groups following expresses the idea $\frac{3}{4}$, as $3\frac{3}{4}$, $3\frac{3}{4}$, and $1\frac{3}{4}$. The horizontal black line, crossed by a vertical stroke, and which precedes the cyphers, indicates the monetary unit, as the drachma, &c.

The example No. 4 is also in *hieratic* writing. It is the commencement of a prayer to Osiris, of which the following is the literal translation, copied from the inedited manuscripts of the younger Champollion. Each word or group of words, corresponds to one of the *hieratic* groups, read from right to left.

* See in regard to this document, *Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas, relatives au Musée Royale de Turin, par M. Champollion le Jeune.* 2de Lett., p. 63, 8vo., Par., 1826.—Ed.

FIRST LINE.

Glorifications | of Osiris god | pronounced | by | Osiris | father divine | and priest | Nofre-heri-nre man | justified | nurtured | by | Nofresevek woman | saviour | O thou! |

SECOND LINE.

God Osiris | Ounofris | justified | son | of Netphé | goddess | eldest | of | Sev | god | principal | manifested | by | Netphé | goddess. |

We observe in this *hieratic* text some *hieroglyphic* signs, the forms of which are almost perfect. This is never the case in *demotic* writing, in which all attempt at design was excluded.

Under No. 5 is given a copy of a stele, bearing an inscription in *demotic* writing. The winged globe of the sun occupies the upper part of the stele, which is arched. It belongs to the Royal Museum at Turin.

Nos. 6 *A* and 6 *B* are copied from another stele, belonging to the Imperial Museum at Vienna. This stele, of which the inscription is in *hieroglyphic* writing, is terminated by two lines in *demotic* writing; a singularity which causes this inscription to be classed among bilingual monuments, which are of great rarity. This stele is an act of adoration to Osiris in the name of Om-ho, a prophet and scribe of the temples of Memphis, who died in the time of the King Ptolemy Philopator.

Under No. 6 *A* is represented the end of the last line in *hieroglyphics**, which are to be read, *His duration* (6 signs from right to left) *of* (7th sign) *life* (8th sign) *mundane* (5 signs and 3 points), *years* (3 signs) xxxxxxxii (9 cyphers) *month* 1 (3 signs and a cypher) *days* (4 signs) xxiii (5 cyphers).

The two lines under No. 6 *B* repeat all the dates relative to the life of the *sotem* (or priest) Omho, in these terms;—*The sotem* (6 signs) *Omho* (5 signs) *begotten* (3 signs) *of Nofresevek* (10 signs), *his* (2 signs) *day* (3 signs) *of birth* (3 signs) *of*

* The copy having been made from an impression taken from the original monument, the drawing is rather loose; but the Egyptian monuments of the Greek period are rarely remarkable for their style.

Phamenoth (4 signs) *the 3rd day* (2 signs), *and* ..... (5 signs) *his* (2 signs) *death* (5 signs) *of Pharmuti* (4 signs) *the day* (1 sign) xx6 (3 cyphers), *the duration* (5 signs) *of his life* (3 signs) *years* (2 signs) 72 (2 signs) *month* (2 signs) 1 (1 cypher) *days* (3 signs) 23 (2 cyphers).

From a general view of the Plates, the reader will become acquainted with the different kinds of Egyptian writing which have come down to our times. We may add, that this nation most especially deserves the name of *parietary*, given by the Romans in derision to one of their emperors, who desired to see his name inscribed upon all the public edifices. But Egypt sought not a vain renown, for she inscribed on them the blessings of the gods, the great actions of the kings who had benefited their country, the precepts of wisdom, and the eternal laws of morality. This universal use of the art of writing bears witness of itself to the high civilization of Egypt.

The period when writing was invented there is uncertain. The most ancient monuments of Egypt, and indeed of the whole world, the pyramids, contain sarcophagi of granite, and coffins of painted wood, of the kings by whom they were built; and funerary legends, in *hieroglyphic* writing composed of the three kinds of signs, *figurative*, *symbolic*, and *alphabetic*, that is to say, arrived at its final state of perfection, reveal on them the names and memories of the princes whose mortal relics are there deposited. These carry us back to an historical period many centuries antecedent to the first pages of the human annals in the West.

Egypt retained her national writing up to the time when she was converted to Christianity. A new religion required the entire forgetfulness of ancient traditions; these traditions were written on the monuments of the abandoned worship, and in a sacred character; a new writing was therefore given to regenerated Egypt. She was no longer allowed to write her

language with hieroglyphic signs, but was compelled to adopt the letters of the Greek alphabet; thus erecting a wall of brass between the ancient and recent faith. Some of the believers in Isis and Osiris struggled against Christianity up to the sixth century of our era, but the fourth century is pointed out as the period when the ancient writings of Egypt were generally abandoned.

From that period the Egyptian language was written with Greek letters, augmented by six signs, derived from the ancient *demotic* alphabet, and representing sounds foreign to the language and alphabet of the Greeks. This complete alphabet is called *Coptic*, and the Coptic language is merely the ancient language of Egypt written with this new alphabet. Since the seventeenth century there has not been found a single person among the Christians of Egypt, capable of writing in Coptic, or of understanding the Coptic language, not even the liturgical texts which are still in use in the church of Alexandria.

The study of the Coptic language has obtained great favor since the publication of the works of the younger Champollion on the monuments of ancient Egypt. The knowledge of this language (of which he constructed a *grammar* and *dictionary*, still in manuscript, in four volumes 4to.), was for him, as it must be for all others, the real and only efficient means of obtaining success in the interpretation of those written documents, which the common mother of the arts and letters, and the instructress of Greece, has bequeathed to modern civilization.

It would not be just, in conclusion, to forget the extraordinary merit of the learned Frenchman, from whose writings the preceding observations have been borrowed, who first opened this inexhaustible mine of erudition; who explored it unceasingly, at the price of his life, on the soil of Egypt itself; and who has collected in his posthumous writings a mass of historical recollections, so honorable and conclusive, in favor of the high antiquity of human intelligence.

The illustrious writer Chateaubriand has said, "Les admirables travaux de Champollion le Jeune auront la durée des monuments qu'il nous fait connaître;" and one of the highest authorities in modern literature, M. Silvestre de Sacy, has added, "Depuis la renaissance des lettres, peu d'hommes ont rendus à l'érudition des services égaux à ceux qui consacrent son nom à l'immortalité."

PLATES L.—LIII.

COPTIC WRITING, IN CAPITALS AND MINUSCULES.

FROM THE VITH TO THE XIVTH CENTURY.

COPTIC PENTATEUCH, AND OTHER FRAGMENTS.

THE subject of the four Plates which accompany this notice belongs to the history of writing in the country where it was, in all probability, invented; at all events, where authentic monuments demonstrate its most ancient employment. The Coptic alphabet is, in fact, the representation of the last stage of the national writing in Egypt.

In the preceding article we have explained in detail its ancient state, by describing the various elements of the sacred and popular writing of Egypt, previous to its conversion to Christianity. The origin of the writing named Coptic is contemporary with the last-named event. It is believed that the name is derived from the Greek appellation of Egypt, *Αἴγυπτος*, *Ægyptos* (the sound of the *g* being hard, and the first syllable suppressed). The specimens given of Coptic writing, and the notices concerning them, may therefore be considered as the completion of our historical sketch of Egyptian palæography.

The introduction of Christianity into Egypt is referred to the reign of Domitian. It had to contend against the ancient national belief, and the mode of worship, which the magnificence of the temples, their riches and ceremonial pomp retained in all its vigor; and it is not until the reign of Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century, that the period is fixed when the Christians became powerful by the propagation of their doctrines, by the favor of the Emperors after the conversion of Constantine, and the zeal, sometimes even sanguinary, of their bishops. Until the sixth century, the priests of Osiris and Serapis defended their ancient gods, and maintained their public worship, especially in the provinces remote from the capital. But Christianity insinuated itself into the government of the state, and very soon assumed its direction; the nilometer of Alexandria was placed in a church; the public distribution of corn was taken from the prefects, and added to the privileges of the bishops; all the public institutions assumed a new aspect; new saints were inserted in the chapels of the ancient gods; and the ancient writing, which spoke of these gods, was replaced by a new writing, which spoke only of the saints. This was the *Coptic.*

Thus was substituted, in lieu of the graphic system of the Egyptians, which made use of symbolic and alphabetic signs, both derived from natural types, and of which the primitive number nearly reached 800 different figures, an *alphabet* properly so called, according to the usual acceptation of the word, that is to say, a series of thirty-one signs, all expressing sounds, the forms of which, with very few exceptions, proceed from mere arbitrary types.

From this epoch the national writings, which had been used for so many centuries in the public and domestic affairs of Egypt, were entirely abandoned; the new alphabet supplanted them, and the language of the Pharaohs lost its ancient graphic costume, being only manifested to the eye

by means of this new alphabet. It was, in regard to Egypt, of foreign origin, and arrived at the same time with Christianity. St. Mark gave to Egypt both his Greek gospel, and its Greek characters. The twenty-four signs of the Greek alphabet are, in fact, the constituent part of the alphabet of the Copts, which, however, contains thirty-one letters. Its analysis enables us to recognize, 1. eighteen Greek letters, which express the same sounds as eighteen ancient Egyptian alphabetical signs; 2. six Greek letters (Γ, Δ, Ζ, Ξ, Υ, Ψ,) the sound of which had no analogy with the Egyptian, but which were necessary to the Copts, to enable them to express the Greek and Latin words, which the new religion had introduced into their written and spoken language; 3. seven letters (including a double letter) expressing sounds or aspirations proper to the Egyptian language, but strangers alike to the Greek and Latin; in order to represent which, the seven signs of the ancient Egyptian alphabet, which represented these sounds and aspirations, were added to the Greek alphabet.

Thus was constituted the graphic system of Coptic or Christian Egypt; and such is the Coptic alphabet, composed of twenty-four Greek letters, and of seven signs retained from the ancient demotic Egyptian alphabet. It was this which gave the final blow to the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

The forms of the letters of the Coptic alphabet are not precisely the same as those of the letters of the Greek alphabet; and these differences give rise to various palæographical questions. Some observations may therefore here be made, which will tend to clear up these doubts, and enable us to conclude, from the forms of the Coptic alphabet at the period of its introduction, what was the state of the Greek alphabet itself, of which the Coptic was only an imitation.

As elements of research in this important question, we may point out the ancient Coptic funerary inscriptions; letters

missive and other subjects, written on flat calcareous stones, or on pieces of tile; two contracts between private individuals, written on gazelle-skin; leaves of Coptic manuscripts on papyrus; and lastly, the numerous manuscripts on vellum, or on cotton paper, preserved in the great libraries of Europe.

A well-known manuscript has been hitherto considered as the most ancient document existing in respect to the question before us; but various fragments preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and partly reproduced under No. 1 of the first Plate (L.), are certainly still more ancient. Coptic inscriptions are also found on detached fragments of wood or other substances, but in general without date; at most we only occasionally find notes of indictions, which do not admit of a certain inference as to their age.

The manuscript above mentioned is the one in the museum of Cardinal Borgia at Rome, which contains a fragment of the Gospel of St. John in Greek and the Thebaic dialect of the Coptic. This relic has been assigned to the seventh century by Woide, and to the fourth by Father Georgi, who published a dissertation on it*. The latter critic, in expressing this opinion, appears not to have sufficiently regarded the opinions of those learned writers, who consider that the Bible was not translated into the Coptic language till towards the time of St. Jerome. It is certain, indeed, that the Greek text of this fragment is written in beautiful square, uncial letters, upright, massive, and not truncated†, the words continuous, and perfectly elegant. It is not less certain, that the Coptic text, which accompanies the Greek, is written in exactly similar uncial letters; and setting aside those letters peculiar to the

* *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Græco-Copto-Thebaicum, &c., opera et studio F. Aug. Ant. Georgii.* Romæ, 1789, 4to.

† By truncated (*tranchées*) is here and elsewhere meant letters with a short line, either horizontal or oblique, at each end of the vertical strokes. See De Vaines, *Dict. Diplomat.*, ii., p. 69.—Ed.

Coptic text, the Greek and the Coptic alphabets of this manuscript are identical. This well-ascertained identity is a fact of some importance in respect to Greek palæography itself, since the Greek alphabet of this manuscript exhibits some forms of letters, especially of the M, which are not found elsewhere, and which are only preserved in Coptic writing. This Coptic alphabet, therefore, furnishes us with the forms of the letters of the Greek alphabet, which the Greeks of Egypt gave to the Egyptians.

There are some other facts which may assist us in the study of Coptic palæography.

The Coptic manuscripts written in ancient characters, and those which are accompanied by a Greek text, can only belong to a period anterior to the establishment of the Arab domination in Egypt.

Favored by the Arabs, whom they had so actively seconded in expelling the Greeks, the Copts detached themselves by degrees from the Greek rites, and omitted to re-copy the Greek text of the Scriptures by the side of their Coptic copies; the Coptic texts were alone transcribed. This is the second period of Coptic manuscripts.

But as the Arab rule became more dominant, their language was gradually introduced into more general use among all classes of the Egyptian population; and if previous to the arrival of the Arabs the Gospels were read in Greek, with the addition of a Coptic translation, it now became necessary, in the new order of things, to read the Gospels in Coptic, with an Arabic interpretation; copies of the Scriptures were therefore made in Coptic and Arabic. This is the third and last period of the manuscripts, literature, and palæography of the Copts.

The Coptic manuscript on papyrus, of which only a single leaf is preserved in France, and from which the fac-simile No. 4 in the second Plate (LI.) has been copied, contains only the

Coptic text of the New Testament, without a Greek or Arabic version. It must be placed therefore among the manuscripts of the second period, immediately after the fine Copto-Greek volume of the Borgian Museum. Its writing is large, heavy, and tall, without any tendency to the abbreviation or curvature of the rectangular strokes, and it may therefore be assigned to the seventh century.

Thus, the fragments at Paris and the Copto-Greek manuscript of the Borgian museum belong to the first period of Coptic palæography, to the time anterior to the Arab invasion; and if we consider the antiquity of the letters in these fragments, as well as those of the Borgian manuscript, we should be inclined to assign the fragments to the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, and the Borgian manuscript to the end of the latter century*.

There is preserved on a piece of pottery, written in rather elongated characters, the Christian epitaph of the blessed Got, daughter of the blessed Severus, who died the 17th day of the month Phamenoth, in the year 662 of the Martyrs, which corresponds with the month of March, A.D. 946.

The inscription on another tile is copied in No. 2 of the second Plate. It is in square, upright Coptic characters, and written probably before the tenth century. The text is a letter addressed to an ecclesiastical dignitary, by one of his subordinates, who requests that prayers should be made to God for his deliverance from the barbarians, probably, the Saracens, then persecutors of the Christians; and this fact points also to the tenth century.

* It is singular that the MM. Champollion should not have mentioned the celebrated Coptic Gnostic manuscript, ⲠⲒⲤⲦⲎ ⲤⲞⲪⲒⲀ on vellum, in the British Museum, (*Add.* 5114,) written in uncials, which Woide thought of greater antiquity than the Alexandrian MS., and which at all events is not much later than the Borgian MS. See the *Dissertatio de versione Bibliorum Ægyptiaca*, pp. 19, 137, fol., Oxon. 1799. The British Museum is also rich in portions of Coptic manuscripts on papyrus, among which are four leaves of the Gospel of St. John.—Ed.

The text represented in No. 3 of the same Plate, and which is written on a piece of calcareous stone, is in Coptic characters, sensibly degenerated from the fine square forms; it is slanting, and some of the letters are joined together. The greatest resemblance exists between this writing and that of the Greek manuscript of Dioscorides, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, which was, without doubt, written in Egypt, and which is attributed by some to the ninth, and by others to the tenth century; and these two palæographical monuments thus brought together, shew how intimate and durable was the connexion between the Greek alphabet of Egypt and the Coptic, up to the tenth century, and how close the resemblance between them up to that time. This connexion and resemblance ceased, however, after this period.

It was in the tenth century that the Greeks introduced the general use of a more expeditious writing than the uncial. This was the *cursive writing* of the notaries, already of some antiquity, and it was employed for the transcription of all manuscripts, with the sole exception of the books destined for ecclesiastical uses. The Copts did not imitate this practice, but preserved the use of their ancient uncial writing, which became altered in form, the letters rounded, and some of the strokes abbreviated, according to the influence of time, or the inability of the scribes; but there was no real Coptic *cursive writing*, properly so termed, like that of the Greeks, and there exists no manuscript to prove the contrary. It is true, that the learned Swede, Akerblad, discovered in 1801 among the Coptic manuscripts of the Vatican, which were then at Paris, in the volume No. 61, a note of four lines in the Coptic language, written in *cursive* minuscule letters, so interlaced together, that scarcely more than one or two rests of the pen in an entire line containing ten or twelve words could be perceived*. It was written by a scribe named

* *Magasin Encyclopédique de Millin*, vii. année, (1801,) tome v., p. 494.

Johannes Macarius, who, in these lines, addresses a prayer to God. They were written in the tenth century, but no conclusion can be drawn from them in proof of the existence of Coptic cursive writing, if we remark, that in this single example of such a form of writing, the whole is absolutely Greek, and that the letters peculiar to the Coptic alphabet do not appear in the Coptic forms; ϥ and ϧ being replaced by φ and χ; c by σ, B by υ, ϫ by a letter like β, ⲁ by α, ⲏ by η; so that in this inscription, there is, in fact, nothing Coptic but the language. The scribe appears to have amused himself with writing Coptic in cursive Greek letters, and this mere specimen of penmanship appears to deserve no attention in the history of Coptic palæography.

As to the Coptic inscriptions, it is certain, from those which exist at Paris, that the analogy between the Greek manuscripts of Egypt and the Coptic manuscripts, existed also in the same country between the inscriptions of the two peoples, when they had become Christians. But, as already stated, at a certain time all these analogies ceased in Egypt. There was indeed no other really Greek city except Alexandria; and after the custom of transcribing manuscripts in *cursive* letters was adopted by the Greeks, the Copts no longer imitated them, but retained the ancient *uncial* writing. Freed from such guides, they endeavoured to perfect the forms of their letters, and to produce varied specimens, original, regular, and elegant; so that after the eleventh century they executed very fine volumes on vellum, which were then real literary treasures for their churches and monasteries, as they are now for the libraries of Europe.

The separation which took place in the tenth century between the Greek and Coptic writing, (up to that period so identical,) is a fact worthy of attention, as it affords a sure means of criticism in the study of Coptic palæography.

To the works of this second period may be applied the

general rules of Greek palæography, as connected with manuscripts; the greater perfection of the uncial writing is a proof of higher antiquity; and this diminishes in the Coptic, in the same degree as the fine types became changed, and as certain letters, particularly ⲁ, ⲩ, ⲗ, ⲩ, ⲗ, assumed more expeditious forms, and as the letters became more and more joined together in words.

The third Plate (LII.) may be referred to for a very fine specimen of the writing of the independent Coptic scribes. The page is ornamented with an interlaced vermicular border on a black ground, which, with the drawing in the middle of the text, occupies the entire Plate. It is copied from the Coptic MS. No. 13, of the Bibliothèque Royale, written upon very fine vellum of a large size, and ornamented with miniatures in body colors, heightened with gold, and accompanied with Arabic legends, explanatory of the subject. This fine and precious manuscript contains the four Gospels translated into Coptic, and was written in the twelfth century. An Arabic inscription informs us, that it is the work of Michael, seventh Coptic bishop of Damietta, who obtained some fame among the Jacobites of his time, for having refused the communion to Mark II., the Melchite (orthodox Greek) patriarch of Alexandria. The manuscript is dated at Damietta, a celebrated city in Lower Egypt, on the 13th of the month Athyr, in the year 896 of the Martyrs (the era of Diocletian), which corresponds with A.D. 1180. The scribe, Bishop Michael, states also that he executed this manuscript for Mark II., son of Zaara, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, whose portrait on a golden ground decorates the frontispiece of the volume. The fac-simile is taken from fol. 88 *recto*, at the beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark, as announced in the title written in the upper border; but the subject delineated, which represents Jesus seated in presence of his accusers, is taken from the end of the Gospel of St.

Matthew. The composition is simple but animated, and gives an advantageous idea of the skill of the Coptic artists in the twelfth century*.

The fourth Plate (LIII.) presents another fine specimen, copied from a magnificent manuscript, written upon cotton paper, containing the Pentateuch in Coptic, with an Arabic version. It is a manuscript of the third age of Coptic liturgical literature, and is two centuries more modern than the preceding. This manuscript is of remarkable execution, especially from the number of capital letters. A note at the end of the volume informs us, that it was written at Djizeh, in Middle Egypt, near the great pyramids, by the monk Michael, son of Abraham, in the month Epiphi, in the year 1076 of the era of the Martyrs, or A.D. 1360. This fine volume places Michael, its scribe, among the most skilful Coptic calligraphers of the fourteenth century.

The Plate contains the commencement of Leviticus, entirely written in Coptic majuscules, tall, close, massive, occasionally floreated, and not truncated, without divisions of words, and in alternate double lines of black and red. The text of the volume is a large sloping Coptic uncial letter, a specimen of which is in Plate LI., No. 1.

A great number of other Coptic manuscripts exist in the libraries of Europe, and exhibit, as shewn in our specimens, some differences in the writing; all, however, are reduceable to their common source, the forms religiously adopted from the tenth century. But among these manuscripts may be distinguished a variety of the Coptic uncial writing characterized by a preference for rectangular strokes, and a decided avoidance of rounded forms, and thus more nearly resembling the ancient uncials than the more rounded and more ornamental writing.

* A very similar copy of the Gospels in Coptic, written in the year of the Martyrs 890 (A.D. 1173), is preserved in the Bodleian library, and a specimen of the text may be seen in Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra*.—Ed.

These characters are very evident in the two forms of the Δ, of the Λ, of the M, of the Ψ, and of the Ϩ; these ancient forms being those preserved in the writing of manuscripts in the Thebaic dialect, of the province of Sais in Upper Egypt.

But these varieties ceased also when Coptic literature disappeared from Egypt. The latest manuscripts transcribed by the priests are of the seventeenth century, at which period the last *papas* or monk died, who still understood a little of the national Egyptian language.

Some of the convents in Egypt possess collections of manuscripts inaccessible to European travellers, and unknown to the monks themselves, who preserve them with a stupid kind of severity. This is an acquisition which modern science ought not to neglect, notwithstanding its difficulties; important discoveries might be made, which would possibly shew, that Coptic Egypt possessed also its scholars, and that its literature was not entirely confined to liturgical labors.

The various manuscripts which have furnished the fac-similes, belong to this last-mentioned class of works. It remains for us to give the description of these specimens, as well as of other documents contained in the four Plates, according to the order of date.

Fifth Century. (Plate L., No. 1.) Fragment of a manuscript on vellum in the Bibliothèque Royale, in rounded uncial writing, of excellent proportions and great elegance. The two columns forming a continuous text, are part of a pious discourse, anonymous and inedited.

Sixth Century. (Plate L., No. 2.) The Coptic and Greek manuscript of the Borgian Museum, in two columns, eight lines of each. Their reading presents no difficulty, and the perfect similarity in the forms of the two alphabets is evident*.

* This specimen from the Borgian MS. is borrowed from Father Georgi, tab. i. It is from cap. vii., v. 34, 35 of the Gospel of St. John. —Ed.

SEVENTH CENTURY. (Plate LI., No. 4.) Fragment of a Coptic manuscript on papyrus, in double columns, containing verses 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15 of the seventh chapter of St. Matthew.

The text of these Gospels is in the Thebaic or Sahidic dialect of Upper Egypt; and it is not divided into verses, according to the modern texts.

NINTH CENTURY. (Plate LI., No. 3.) Inscription on a flat calcareous stone, written on both sides. The name ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲟⲣⲟⲥ is to be read in the second line.

SAME CENTURY. (Plate L., No. 3.) Greek manuscript of Dioscorides. The ten lines here represented, if compared with the preceding inscription, clearly shew in the ninth century, as our second example does in the sixth, the perfect identity of the Coptic and Greek alphabets.

TENTH CENTURY. (Plate LI., No. 2.) A piece of tile, on which is inscribed the letter of a monk to his superior, commencing with the words, ⲡⲣⲟⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲫⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲡⲉ ⲭ̅ⲥ, &c. "Above all, I render homage to the honorable paternity, who bears the Christ, &c." The word ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ occurs in the eighth line.

SAME CENTURY. (Plate L., Nos. 4, 5, 6.) Various specimens of Coptic writing. No. 4, written on a calcareous stone, is the most careless.

TWELFTH CENTURY. (Plate LII.) Manuscript of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 13; first page of the Gospel of St. Mark, in the Memphitic dialect. It begins, ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ ⲡⲯⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲫ ⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲏ ⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲏⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ. The sentence is terminated by the figure of a reversed heart, which stands in the place of punctuation. The common division into verses does not occur in this manuscript.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY. (Plate LIII.) Another manu-

script of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1, containing the Pentateuch, accompanied by an Arabic version. The Plate contains the first page of Leviticus, in the Memphitic dialect of Lower Egypt. This page is in fine majuscule characters, and the first two lines are to be read ⲞⲨⲞϨ ⲀⲠϬ̅Ⲥ̅ ⲞⲨⲀϨⲈⲘⲘⲞⲨϮ ⲈⲘⲰⲨⲤⲎⲈ (*and again the Lord called Moses*). The text of the same manuscript, in ordinary uncial writing, is figured in Plate LI. No. 1. The following passage from Numbers is to be read in it:

ϩⲱⲟⲩⲧⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛⲓⲥ ϫⲉⲛ ⲕ̅ ⲛ̀ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲥⲁ ⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ &c.

Fac-similes of Coptic manuscripts have been previously published, containing various portions of the Bible*, and others are given in the first Plate, Nos. 1, 5, 6, but documents on clay, stone, and wood, are here published for the first time. The various specimens represented in these Plates have been selected with a view to the chronological study of this curious portion of Egyptian palæography; and together with the Plates derived from the hieroglyphic monuments, the reader will have before him a complete monograph of the history of the graphic art in Egypt, in all the periods of its long existence, both in its flourishing and its fallen state.

* Georgii, *Fragm. Evang., &c.—Appendix ad edit. Nov. Test. Græci, etc.* Oxon. 1799, fol.

PART II.

DIVISION I.

GREEK WRITING.

PLATE LIV.

UNCIAL GREEK WRITING.

IIIRD CENTURY B.C.

LETTER OF DIOSCORIDES TO DORION; MANUSCRIPT ON PAPYRUS, FOUND IN EGYPT.

Our observations upon Greek manuscripts discovered in Egypt, may be considered as a necessary supplement to the views we have stated in the previous article upon Egyptian writing.

With respect to these Greek manuscripts, it is scarcely requisite to premise, that the language in which they are written indicates a secondary epoch in the history of ancient Egypt; since the Greek language could only be adopted as that of the Egyptian Government, when the country became a dependency of the Greek princes, such as the race of the Lagides, the chief of whom, Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagus, and lieutenant of Alexander the Great, became his successor on the throne of Egypt.

It is not surprising, therefore, that so great a number of Greek manuscripts should have been collected in Egypt, which are now preserved in the chief libraries of Europe, nearly all of which are in an excellent state of preservation.

There are two classes of manuscripts found in Egypt, nearly equal in point of numbers: 1. manuscripts written in Egyptian characters; 2. those written in Greek characters.

In the first of these classes three kinds must be distinguished: 1, those written in *hieroglyphic* characters; 2, those

written in *hieratic* characters; 3, those written in *demotic* or popular characters.

The manuscripts in Greek characters form the second class, and present a great variety of subjects, such as astronomical treatises, astrological subjects, fragments of Homer and other poets, grammatical works, letters of business, legal processes, public acts, household accounts, and even bills to recover lost articles.

All these manuscripts are on papyrus, and although nearly the whole are found in the tombs, yet, with the exception of the funeral rituals, they have no connexion with the mummies. When we remember, however, that these tombs were either vast catacombs destined for public sepulture, or for private, yet extremely spacious, sepulchres, and that being formed in the solid rock, and free from the slightest humidity, they naturally preserved the most delicate objects which were deposited within them, we shall no longer be surprised at the discovery of so many fragile manuscripts in these subterraneous chambers of the dead.

The Arabs, by whom these manuscripts are generally discovered in the catacombs, state that they are found inclosed in earthen vases, carefully closed, and even sealed, which reminds us of the passage in the Bible concerning Jeremiah (chap. xxxii. ver. 10—14), who having purchased a piece of ground, and written the purchase-deed, he sealed it within and without*, and caused it to be deposited in an earthen vase for its preservation. Origen likewise states, that he found, in similar vases, two texts of the Greek version of the Bible; and all these facts seem to indicate an usage generally received in ancient times amongst the nations of the East.

Such also is the history of the Greek manuscript represented

* This is certainly an error. Two copies of the contract were prepared, one of which (*βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως*) was open, and the other (*βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον*) sealed up, but on the outside only.—Ed.

in the Plate; and having been discovered in Egypt, it was afterwards carried to France, and deposited in the Musée Royal Egyptien at Paris.

It consists of a single leaf of papyrus, of which the *recto* is occupied by the eighteen long lines represented in the facsimile, whilst on the *verso* are written the eight shorter lines, in a different hand. In this document, Dioscorides, a public functionary, communicates to Dorion, one of his subordinate officers, the copy of a royal order relating to complaints lodged against the collectors of the Exchequer, who had adopted extortionate practices, under various pretexts and even by false declarations, against persons disembarking in the city. The king and queen, says the letter, earnestly desire that justice should be rendered to all their subjects, and that no one should have reason to complain either of the chief or inferior officers; they therefore order the strictest scrutiny, especially in respect to the receivers, or others employed, who have connived at such false declarations. The commencement of the letter communicating this royal order is as follows:—

ΔΙΟCΚΟΥΡΙΔΗC ΔΩΡΙΩΝΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΗC ΠΡΟC
ΔΩΡΙΩΝΑ ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗC
ΤΟ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ . . . . . .
ΕΡΡΩCΟ |ΚΓ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ Δ ΘΩΥΘ ΚΕ

"Dioscorides to Dorion, greeting. Of the letter addressed to Dorion, the copy is below." (then follows the order to him, to conform to its instructions.) "Farewell. The year 26, the 4th of (the month) Xandicus, the 25th of Thoth*." The indication relative to arrivals by water in the city, and more particularly the double date of the 4th of Xandicus of the Macedonian calendar, corresponding with the 25th of Thoth of the Egyptian calendar, would lead us to conclude that this royal order related to some city in Lower Egypt, and most probably to Alexandria.

* Then follows the copy of the royal mandate.—Ed.

The date of the 26th year of the reign of one of the Ptolemies is applicable to any one of those kings, whose reign extended to such a number of years; but the fine, square, uncial writing of this papyrus authorises us to attribute it to one of the most ancient, most probably Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned from the year 285 to 247 B.C.

PLATE LV.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

IIIRD AND I^ST CENTURY B.C.

FRAGMENTS OF HOMER AND OF A TREATISE UPON RHETORIC, ON PAPYRUS.

THE two fragments here represented are pre-eminently interesting among all those papyri which have been discovered in the tombs of Egypt, and belong to a special class of palæographical monuments.

Those which relate to ancient Greek writing may be divided into three classes: the first comprising inscriptions upon stone or metal; the second, books, properly so called; and the third, documents of a public or private nature.

To the first class belong the *capital* or *square majuscule* characters; to the second, the *uncial* characters (which are majuscules intermixed with rounded letters); and to the third, the *conjoined, cursive* writing. Each of these kinds of writing belongs to a different era, of greater or less duration in different places, until time had introduced the forms of one class into another, producing their intermixture, and at length an utter confusion of letters, and in ordinary usage an almost undecypherable style of writing.

It is to the second class of writing that the fragments now published belong, of which few specimens have come down to us.

The libraries and museums of Europe possess, indeed, a great number of fragments of Greek writing on papyrus from Egypt, of greater or less extent; but with the exception of some public acts of the Greek or Roman periods, the subjects of these manuscripts relate generally to private transactions, such as judicial proceedings, deeds of sale, accounts, letters, receipts, &c. Unfortunately, a very few fragments of books (properly so called) have been discovered in Egypt; and this is the more to be regretted, from the importance of the subjects on which they treat. To prove this, it will suffice to notice the fragments of books preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, namely, a Treatise on Astronomy, anterior to Hipparchus; a Treatise on Rhetoric, in which are cited many passages of Greek writers, whose works are lost; and the remains of a copy of the Poems of Homer. The literary mines of Egypt, however, are not yet exhausted.

All these documents belong to a period respecting which the most learned critics have hitherto been unable, from want of materials, to give us any palæographical information. Montfaucon had never even seen a Greek manuscript, written with ink, with a pen or calamus, on papyrus or vellum, which was anterior to the fourth century of the Christian era; whereas we have published specimens of Greek diplomatic or cursive writing, as early as the third century B.C. We are of opinion, that the specimen No. 1 of the Plate is a portion of a manuscript written in the uncial character of the same period, and that it is seven centuries older than the celebrated Greek Pentateuch of Colbert's collection (now in the Bibliothèque Royale), which Montfaucon has assigned to the fourth century of our era.

The illustrious Benedictine adopted as a principle for the

determination of the age of Greek manuscripts, the greater or less resemblance their writing bore to that of lapidary inscriptions. This rule may not perhaps apply with certainty to manuscripts executed in Egypt; since in that country, during the period of the Greek rule (so rich in written monuments), the characters of the inscriptions retained their pure majuscule rectangular form; whilst in manuscripts of the same period (even of the same reign or year), the writing is entirely uncial, and for the most part with rounded forms.

Nevertheless, the rule laid down by Montfaucon may be confidently adopted, when reduced to the following form:— a Greek manuscript written in Egypt, although exhibiting the rounded uncial characters, must be of greater antiquity, in proportion as its majuscule rectangular letters approach nearer to the forms of the majuscule letters of the inscriptions.

With this rule alone for guide, a material difference will be perceived between the two specimens of writing, designedly brought together in the accompanying Plate. Setting aside the letters C, Є, O, Θ, Φ, and Ω, which are rounded, and naturally resemble each other in both texts, the other letters, such as A, B, Δ, M, Π, H, P, T, Y, Ψ, present some evident distinctions, which with certain marks above the letters (if these marks be ancient) prove the superior antiquity of the fragment of the Treatise on Rhetoric, No. 1, over No. 2, which consists of several small fragments of the 13th Book of the Iliad (verses 143 to 175), introduced into the text of the same passage, written on a white ground, so as to shew the relative position of the remains of the Homeric papyrus, two centuries probably later than the other, which may be attributed to the third century B.C., the most brilliant period, in fact, of the school of Alexandria.

PLATE LVI.

GREEK CURSIVE WRITING.

IIND CENTURY B.C.

PETITION TO KING PTOLEMY; MANUSCRIPT ON PAPYRUS, FOUND IN EGYPT.

THIS specimen of Greek cursive* writing previous to the Christian era, is of a less ancient date than the letter of Dioscorides to Dorion, described in a preceding article; the date of one being the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (260 B.C.), and the other, the nineteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (164 B.C.). The same result will also be obtained, by a careful examination of the style of writing in the two documents. In the fac-simile before us, the degradation in the style of the writing is evident, yet the nature of the document (being a petition to a sovereign) would lead us to infer, that a good scribe would have been employed in its execution; whereas the subject of the former specimen is of a lower order, being a simple administrative notice. In the former document the writing is firm, regular, distinct, and square, resembling the lapidary inscriptions, but with the introduction of rounded letters.

* There is a certain difference between some of the forms here given, and those in the letter of Dioscorides, but chiefly consisting in the thinner and more elongated shapes of the letters; and it may be doubted, whether they are so marked, as to authorize the term of *cursive* writing, as applied to the present document, in contradistinction to the *uncial* writing (so called) of the former.—ED.

The present fac-simile, on the contrary, with the exception of the protocol occupying the first line, exhibits an irregular writing, with ill-proportioned, badly-formed, and confused letters. The Μ, Π, and Η, are nearly alike; the Α completely of the cursive, and the Ο of the minuscule form*; the Ρ almost always abridged; the Ι attached to the preceding letter, or, when alone, below the line; the right-hand stroke of the Δ much produced above the line; the first stroke of the Λ greatly curtailed; the Ε much higher than the other letters; in the Τ the vertical stroke lengthened below the line; and in the Α the right stroke carried above the line; the Σ reduced to the C form, without the upper curve, and united by a straight stroke to the following letter, and sometimes so minute, as almost to disappear. The writing also is joined together in the greater portion of its letters, and sometimes in its words; the lines commencing with a large well-formed letter, and terminating in careless and closely written words, with the letters conjoined. In general, however, they are as broad as high, and the lines are at regular distances apart. This specimen, when contrasted with the former fac-simile, demonstrates clearly the progress of the decline of Greek writing, from its fine forms, when it had become, in course of time, in more general use among the Hellenic population of Egypt.

The following is the text of the first three lines of the fac-simile:

ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗΙ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΙ. (*l.* 2) ΘΕΟΙC ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡCΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΘΑΥΗC ΚΑΙ ΤΑΟΥC ΔΙΔΥΜΑΙ ΑΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΥCΑΙ. (*l.* 3) ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΡΟC ΜΕΜΦΕΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ CΑΡΑΠΙΕΙΩΙ.

* The Ο is no more of the minuscule form here than in Plate LIV. Compare the first word ΔΙοCΚοΥΡΙΔΕC with any words in the present specimen. The same may be said in regard to some of the other letters specified in the text.—Ed.

"To King Ptolemy, and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, the Father-loving gods, greeting. Thaues and Taous, twins, employed in the ceremonies in the great temple of Serapis, near Memphis," &c. This petition is one out of a number of pieces, forming a voluminous file, concerning these twins, daughters of the same mother, named Nefori, which was found in an earthern vase in the tomb of a Macedonian, named Ptolemy, who was charged with the affairs of these two girls, attached to the service of the temple of Serapis, at Memphis.

The pieces thus discovered, amounting in number nearly to sixty, are now distributed in the Museums of Paris, London, Turin, Rome, and Leyden; and it appears from them, that these twins received yearly, by way of payment for their religious services, a measure of oil of sesamum, another of oil of Palma Christi, and every day eight loaves from the temple of Serapis, and three baked loaves from the temple of Æsculapius. The death of the ox Apis (on the seventeenth year of the reign of Ptolemy Philometer,) interrupted the payment of this stipend, and it was not until two months afterwards that another Apis, entirely according with the prescriptions of the ritual, having been discovered, the twins Thaues and Taous again resumed their functions, and thereby obtained a claim to the delivery of the baked bread of *kiki*, as also of the oil, both of which the administrators of the temple refused them. Hence their petition to the king, and the interminable series of documents which followed during the course of their suit through all the degrees of the judicial hierarchy, from the highest to the lowest; one would suppose the process to have taken place in the nineteenth century, but with this difference, that at the end of three months the affair was terminated in favor of the twins.

The original of the specimen in the Plate is in the Museum of the Louvre, and is only one of the documents

connected with this curious affair, which contains numerous valuable details illustrative of the organization of the Greek administration in Egypt.

PLATE LVII.

WRITING IN SMALL GREEK CAPITALS.

IST CENTURY B.C.

TREATISE ON MUSIC, FROM HERCULANEUM.

HERCULANEUM was one of the most ancient cities of Campania, successively inhabited by the Oscans and Cumæans, and conquered by the Romans, who constituted it one of their colonies in the year 293 B.C. According to the common opinion, Herculaneum was entirely overwhelmed by the famous eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, the first year of the reign of Titus; but historical evidence, worthy of credit, would lead us to believe, notwithstanding the eloquent account of the catastrophe given by Pliny the Younger, (who lost his uncle, the Elder Pliny, at the time,) that the city still survived to the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Its existence is prolonged by some even until the year 471, the date of an irruption still more violent, the ashes of which covered a part of Europe, and were conveyed as far as Constantinople. It is supposed that at that time the inhabitants of Herculaneum, warned by previous experience, took refuge from the catastrophe at Naples; and we learn, in fact, from ancient monuments that a distinct quarter was appropriated there to the Herculaneans, and a city of that name, governed by their own magistrates. At that time Herculaneum was buried under eighty feet of

lava and cinders, and for a long period modern research sought in vain the spot where it had existed.

The earliest indications of the re-discovery of the buried city, extend back only to the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Prince of Elbœuf, of the house of Lorraine, (who in 1706 led the Imperial army to Naples against Philip V., and there married, in 1713, the daughter of the Prince of Salsa,) having built a villa, in 1720, on the sea-shore near Portici, purchased some land, on which one of the workmen discovered many statues, which induced the prince to continue the search, and with such success, that the King of Naples interfered, forbidding any further excavations. These were afterwards undertaken on his own account, and an ancient city was disinterred, recognized as Herculaneum, in its ancient state, and with all its contents, wanting only inhabitants, a sufficient proof of their having fled previous to the catastrophe which overwhelmed it. The same course was taken with the adjacent territory, and it was in one of the villas near the city, believed to have belonged to the family of the Pisones, that nearly 800 manuscripts were discovered, enclosed in a wooden book-case, ornamented with *marqueterie.*

These manuscripts, written on papyrus, and each rolled up within itself, or upon a wooden cylinder, were discovered in a deplorable state, all of them being nearly carbonized, and crushed by the ruins, so as to form a compact mass, the layers of which could only be detached in very small fragments, generally consisting of pieces of several adherent layers; fortunately the ink remains* blacker even than the leaves themselves, and by the extraordinary patience of P. Antonio Piaggi and his assistants, a few of these manuscripts have been unrolled, and some valuable additions made to the literature of ancient Greece. The specimen in the Plate is a

* In the fac-simile, the letters appear of a white color, as opposed to the dark ground of the papyrus.—Ed.

proof of this. It consists of a Treatise on Music by Philodemus*, a contemporary of Cicero, and an intimate friend of the family of Piso. As an epicurean philosopher (whose portrait has been drawn by Cicero†,) Philodemus treats the subject philosophically, instead of technically, and examines, whether music be useful to manners; combating in this respect the opinions of the stoic Diogenes‡.

The last two columns of the manuscript (the 38th and 39th) are figured in the Plate. In the middle of the 39th are read these words in small Greek capitals, not truncated, the Ε and Σ being of the lunar form ϵ and C.

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΜΟΥCΙΚΗ

The 38th column is the continuation of the text, written in small Greek capitals, similar to the preceding, but shorter, straighter, and with the words not divided, the Ω of the cursive form ω, without accents, spirits, or punctuation. The following is the text of the upper lines, as restored and read by the learned academicians of Herculaneum, commencing at the middle of the second line.

. . . . ΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΠΕρι-
ουσΙΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΝ εκ ΤΟΥ
ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΦΩΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ-
ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΛΕΓΩΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΚΟΙ-
ΝΑ ΤΕ ΠΡΟΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΟΛ-
ΛΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ πΛΕΙΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ . . . . .

. . . . cum autem opes et gloriam ex ista disciplina provenire aiunt, respondeamus, istæc proferri multis studiis communia et e quamplurimis etiam abesse

The form of the letters authorises this manuscript to be assigned to the first century before the Christian era.

* *Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt,* tom. 1. *Neap., ex Reg. typogr.*, 1793 fol. A memoir on this manuscript, with a fac-simile, was published at Berlin in 1806, by Chr. Gottleib von Murr, 64 pp. 4to.

† *Orat. contr. Pison.*, cap. 28 & 29. *De Finibus*, lib. 2, *ad fin.*

‡ *Herculanens. Volum., etc.*, p. 17.

PLATE LVIII.

CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

IIND CENTURY A.C.

NATAL ASTROLOGICAL THEME.

THE manuscript on papyrus represented in this Plate is one of the most curious monuments existing of the popular opinions and prejudices of the nations of antiquity. It consists of a natal theme or *nativity*, cast by a professor of astrology, from the relative position of the planets and chief constellations at the moment of the birth of an individual. Astrology has been termed a ridiculous science; it would be better to say, that it was simply an idle deviation from astronomy, and probably derived from it, as the sister science alchemy was idly born of chemistry; and both must be considered as having been in some degree useful in preventing the entire neglect of the two sciences properly so called. The ancient astronomers were also in some degree astrologers. Ptolemy seriously treats on the atmospheric influences of the stars; the most ancient Egyptians placed each member of the body under the protection of a star; the Greeks inherited the same errors, and the determination of the epoch of the foundation of Rome in the year 753 B.C., so generally received as an historical fact, is only an astrological conclusion, a horoscope of Rome, cast by the astrologer Tarrutius, at the express request of the learned Varro and the severe Cato, who adopted it without hesitation.

Very few of these natal themes have come down to us,

and it is believed, that the only complete one known is that which is textually quoted in the writings of Firmicus*. The papyrus represented in the Plate, containing one of these themes of considerable length, constructed according to the strict rules of the art, is therefore a document of much importance. The first five lines are to be thus read:—

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ. Γένεσις Ἀνουβίωνος . . . . Ψανονωτος. |ᾱ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, μηνὸς Ἀδριανου η̄, κατὰ δε τοὺς ἀρχαίους τυβὶ ιη̄, ὥρας ᾱ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρ̣χ
Ἥλιος ἐν τοξότηι . . . . . †

"*To Good Fortune.* The Nativity of Anoubion (*son of?*) Psanonot. The first year of the Lord Antoninus Cæsar, the 8th of the month Hadrian, and according to the ancients (*the Egyptians*) the 18th of Tybi, at the first hour of the commencement of day; the sun being in Sagittarius," &c. From the last paragraph of the text it appears, that the dominant sign of the nativity of Anoubion, was the planet Venus.

The date of this manuscript renders it of great palæographical importance, when compared with the other specimens, in the gradual decline from the uncial to the cursive Greek writing.

The initial letter of each paragraph is larger than those of the text, and it was the intention of the scribe to form capitals; they are not, however, even uncial, but merely cursive letters of a large size. Compared with the writing of the Petition to Ptolemy, and the fragments of Homer, this manuscript prepares us for the deformities exhibited in the succeeding Plate. We here see, in fact, the A take the true cursive form, especially when joined to either of the adjacent

* In the *Astronomicon libri* viii., edited by Nic. Bruckner, and with other astronomical treatises, dedicated to King Edward the Sixth, Bas. 1551. fol.—Ed.

† This text is from a copy made some years ago, before the manuscript was injured by time.

letters; Β appears once as a capital, resting on a horizontal line, which extends beyond its base, but elsewhere always in in the form of *u*, which was not employed in manuscripts until the ninth century; Δ irregularly formed, and bent, its right-hand stroke extending above the line towards the left; Η approaching to the form of our *h*, with the second limb shorter than the first; Λ like Δ, with its right-hand stroke much elevated towards the left; Μ having the uncial form at the beginning of words, and a very cursive form in the middle; Ν sometimes regularly uncial, and sometimes formed of two upright lines united by a straight bar at the top, all formed by a single stroke of the pen; Ρ scarcely more than a perpendicular stroke extending far below the line, and its loop disappearing in a mere dot at the top; the vertical stroke of the Φ also greatly elongated; Ψ scarcely more than a cross slenderly traced; Ξ has entirely the form of ξ, which does not occur in manuscripts until the ninth century; and Ω always the form of ω.

In other respects, this cursive Greek writing is square and broad, with the words semi-distinct, and the letters slightly conjoined; approaching in its general appearance to that of the preceding documents, but belonging by the *cursive* form of its letters to the class of writing so named.

The first year of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus, and the 18th of the month Tybi, according to the Egyptians, the date indicated in the papyrus, corresponds with the commencement of December, A.D. 137.

PLATE LIX.

CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

IIND AND IIIRD CENTURIES.

LETTER MISSIVE, ACCOMPANYING A MUMMY; AND A FRAGMENT OF A GREEK PAPYRUS, WITH EGYPTIAN EMBLEMS.

THE fac-simile No. 2 of the accompanying Plate, (on which are brought together two specimens of Greek cursive writing, from two papyri found in Egypt,) exhibits this writing arrived at such a degree of degradation, that the imperial diploma of Heraclius, (given in a subsequent Plate,) although three centuries more modern, is scarcely less deformed. It may be at once perceived how much the letters are conjoined, out of proportion, and rapidly formed; it is, in fact, the ordinary writing used among the people, and so constructed, as to be entirely unlike the writing in books. The text of this papyrus, No. 2, is one of the most interesting, in respect to Egyptian archæology, which has hitherto been discovered. It is a letter sent by Senpamonthes to his brother, with the mummy of his mother, as follows:—

Σενπαμώνθης Παμώνθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. Ἐπεμψά σοι τὸ σῶμα Σενύριος τῆς μητρός μου κεκηδευμένος, ἔχων (*sic*) τάβλαν κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου, διὰ Γαλητος, πατρὸς Ἱερακος, ἐν πλοίῳ ἰδίῳ, τοῦ ναύλου δοθέντος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πλήρης. Ἔστιν δε σημεῖον τῆς ταφῆς· σινδών ἐστιν ἐκτὸς ἔχων (*sic*) χρῆμα ῥόδινον· ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς. Ἐῤῥῶσθαι σε, ἀδελφὲ, εὔχομαι.

|Γ θὼθ ιά.

and on the dors of the document we read, ΠΑΜΩΝΘΗΙ ΜΩΙ . . . CΕΝΠΑΜΩΝΘΗC. A translation of this curious letter is annexed.

"Senpamonthes to his brother Pamonthes, greeting. I have sent thee the buried body (*the mummy*) of Senyris, my mother, having a tablet round the neck, by Gales, whose father is Hierax, by a private boat; the entire freight having been paid by me. There is a mark for recognition on the coffin; it is a veil, having on the outside something of roses. Her name is written on the belly (*the upper part of the coffin*). I pray, my brother, for thy health. The year 3, the 11th of Thoth."

This simple leaf of papyrus was folded up lengthwise into a flat roll of a finger's breadth, and fastened with a thread, sealed with a seal of sigillary clay, and bearing this address: "To Pamonthes (*my brother?*), Senpamonthes." The first name written exists still in large uncial Greek letters.

The custom of embalming the dead was retained in Egypt even after the establishment of Christianity; and it was preached against by St. Antony in the fourth century. Thus the usage maintained its ground against the opposition of the early Christians, who were ignorant, that the public health of Egypt depended upon this ancient usage, which, by preventing the corruption of the corpses, prevented also the corruption of the air with its attendant maladies; for it was not until after the fourth century, when the practice of embalming had been discontinued, that the plague re-appeared. It is, therefore, not surprising to meet with the embalmment of Greeks in Egypt, nor to read a Greek letter relating to a mummy; there are indeed Greek mummies preserved in some of the European Museums. We read in the martyrdom of the Abbot Epimus, that after his death, his body was embalmed by his servants, and placed in a boat, which conveyed it to the port of Shmun, the ancient Hermopolis Magna*.

The names of Senpamonthes, Pamonthes, and Senyris or

* Passage in a Coptic manuscript, cited by the younger Champollion, in his work, intitled *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, tom. i., p. 294

Senuris, are Egyptian with Greek terminations, but their origin is derived from the names of the Egyptian Gods Ammon and Horus, and they are found on other monuments. It was customary to transport the mummies from various parts of Egypt by the boats of the Nile, to the public burial places; which accounts for the immense number of coffins found in certain catacombs, without reference to the population of the adjoining towns. The mummy of Senyris had attached at the neck a tablet (τάβλα); this was a small oblong plate, sometimes cut square, on which was written or engraved the name of the deceased. Some of these tablets, entirely Greek, have come down to us, and their employment had reference to an order of public administration. We know, in fact, by the comparison of original documents, that the mummies were deposited in public hypogæa or catacombs dug in the rock, and carefully closed; and that each mummy was subject to an annual payment made by the family of the deceased, who possessed a place in the vault in perpetuity. These annual payments were farmed out by the government, and again re-let to other individuals, and a list of the names of the persons buried in each vault was carefully preserved.

During the period of Greek dominion in Egypt, the ancient rites and customs of sepulture were still retained, and thus even Greek mummies bore Egyptian emblems, with hieroglyphics on their coffins; but as the farmers of these hypogæa were not always instructed in the Egyptian writing, the Greek tablet enabled them to ascertain the names both of the dead and of the families charged with the annual payment. The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses one of these contracts for farming out a vault, and a list of the names of the individuals deposited therein is annexed.

The middle-age of Christian Egypt furnishes us also with some notices of this usage maintained in that country from the period of the Pharaohs. We read in a Coptic manuscript

containing the panegyric of Picendi, bishop of Keft, by Moses, bishop of the same town, (a portion of which has been published by G. Zoega*,) that John, one of the disciples of the holy father of the desert, having entered into a pagan catacomb of Egypt with his master, found it filled with mummies; and having piled up the coffins, for the purpose of lodging there, they observed that the first mummy was covered with a royal silk garment, and that the fingers and toes were separately embalmed. The disciple adds, "I cast my eyes on one of the columns, and found a book in the form of a roll: I gave it to my father, who read it, and found written in it the names of all those who were buried in the vault†." These facts explain the existence of the *tablet* attached near the neck of the coffin of each mummy; they contained the name of the person liable for the dead-rent, and the Greek word τάβλα, in this sense, ought to be added to the Glossary of Du Cange, as well as the word ταφή, written on the coffins, and signifying *mummy-case.* The date at the end of the letter indicates the third year of the reigning sovereign, who cannot be pointed out with certainty, and the 11th of Thoth corresponds in the Egyptian calendar with the 8th or 9th of September, according as the corresponding Julian year was bissextile or not. The style of writing, however, and purely Egyptian nature of the text of this document, authorise us to fix its age in the third century of the Christian era.

The fac-simile, No. 1, exhibits both Greek and Egyptian writing on the same leaf of papyrus. It first served for the transcription of an account in Greek, written in several columns; and in the first line are evident traces of the words

* *Catalogus codicum Copticorum Musei Borgiani,* Romæ, 1810,pp. 41.

† *Manuscript note,* of Champollion le Jeune. See also his work, intitled *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons,* tom. i., pp. 199, 224. The same passage has been quoted by M. Quatremère in his *Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypt,* Paris, 1808, pp. 268.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟC, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΟC &c., each article being terminated by signs of quantity, and numerical letters. The right hand margin of the papyrus shews the first letters of the words of the second column.

One of the columns of this Greek writing is covered by the signs of Egyptian demotic writing, and the other by a drawing of a religious Egyptian scene; the deceased in a corporeal form, and the soul in that of a bird, both receiving in their hands the water of divine life, which is one of the numerous scenes of the funeral ritual; and this circumstance leads us to believe, that this piece of Greek papyrus was afterwards employed by the family of some poor Egyptian, for the purpose of writing on it the religious passport, so often found in mummies; some of which are magnificent rolls, containing the entire ritual, splendidly painted and gilt, and more than sixty-five feet in length; whilst others are but miserable fragments, scarcely large enough to contain more than one of the shortest of the required prayers. In the present instance, this economy has been carried still further; since, according to Herodotus, it was unlawful for an Egyptian to use anything that had been touched by a Greek.

If this fragment had been discovered at the time when the new opinions relative to the study of Egyptian antiquities were first put forth, it would have given rise to as much discussion and doubt, as the Egyptian sculptures of the temple of Philæ, which are executed on a wall previously occupied by a long Greek inscription, and injured by the subsequent figures; since those who maintained that all the monuments bearing hieroglyphics or Egyptian sculptures were anterior to the invasion of Cambyses, and who were consequently perplexed to explain the origin of Egyptian sculptures of a later date than a Greek inscription, would have had no other resource than to declare the present papyrus to be a forgery. It is, however, now well ascertained, that the use of hieroglyphic writing was

maintained in Egypt under the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, until the fourth century after Christ; and that the devotees of Isis and Osiris defended their temples against the invasion of Christian doctrines, even in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era*.

The Greek portion of this fragment appears to be of the second century, and its Egyptian supplement probably one or two centuries later.

PLATE LX.

UNCIAL GREEK WRITING.

IVTH AND VITH CENTURIES.

PORTIONS OF THE BIBLE AND OF THE HISTORY OF DION CASSIUS.

THE two manuscripts from which these fac-similes are taken, are well known in the history of Greek literature, and from their great antiquity, offer valuable materials for some remarks on the study of Greek palæography.

Montfaucon devoted an entire chapter of his *Palæographia Græca* to the changes which were introduced from the earliest period of the Roman Empire in the forms of the letters of the Greek alphabet; and this inquiry is of importance, since the forms of letters, as well as of orthography, enable us to determine approximately, in the absence of other data, the age of an inscription or manuscript. Montfaucon,

* See the researches of M. Letronne, on the subject of the Greek inscription relating to the Nubian king Silco, in his work intitled *Matériaux pour l'Histoire du Christianisme en Egypte, en Nubie, et en Abyssinie.* Paris, 1832, 4to.

it is true, possessed as materials for the study of written monuments of this early period, only inscriptions and medals; yet he ventures to assert, that if a manuscript of this period were to be found, it would shew the same changes in the form of its letters, as the contemporary inscriptions.

Time has fully confirmed the views of the learned Benedictine, and the Greek papyri of Egypt and Herculaneum anterior to the fourth century (the date of the earliest known manuscripts on vellum) exhibit peculiar forms of certain Greek letters, which are not those of the ancient inscriptions, but resemble the letters of those inscriptions which are contemporary with these manuscripts.

The opinion of Montfaucon requires, however, some correction in regard to the period which he assigns for these changes, namely, the era of the first Cæsars, for although this may be correct with reference to inscriptions, it will not apply equally well to manuscripts; for in those of the second century B.C. the change of form in certain letters had already become general, as seen in the plates of the Greek papyri of Egypt.

The general principle in these changes consists in the habit of rounding the rectangular forms of certain letters, and of abridging some of them, with the view of rendering the writing more expeditious. To this may be added, that the changes indicated by Montfaucon did not take place synchronously in manuscripts and inscriptions; and it might be asked, indeed, why the writers did not adopt the most expeditious forms from the earliest times? We are advocates for the contemporary existence both of the rectangular Greek characters used for inscriptions, and of the rounded Greek writing, for manuscripts of all kinds, and Egypt under the Greeks affords the proofs; for the Greek papyri found there of the date of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and of the reigns preceding or following, are written in rounded letters, whilst the Greek

portion of the inscription on the Rosetta Stone, which is of the same reign, is executed in square letters. Some future Hellenist will doubtless be enabled, with the help of these and other similar documents, to complete the precepts of Greek palæography, propounded by Montfaucon.

The most ancient of the two manuscripts (neither of which is cited by Montfaucon) is, undoubtedly the one represented by the fac-simile in the lower part of the Plate. It is a Greek Bible in the Vatican*, written in uncial capitals, as broad as high, wide apart, with the words not divided, and of a bold and elegant appearance; the Υ and Ρ extending below the line; the Φ both above and below; the Ξ having lost its square form, and the Δ being without points at the base. The text is that of the first and second Psalms, according to the ancient division. Accents and spirits accompany the letters, and although the latter are of the ancient form, they do not appear to us to be contemporary with the text. They would reduce the age of the text, which appears to be of the fourth century, at least to the fifth†.

* It is truly extraordinary, that the French editors should have designated the famous *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 1209, in such terms as these! The reference originally given to it (perhaps by a fault of the engraver) on the Plate, was "No. 625, fol. 313," instead of "No. 1209, p. 625," and it is possible, that this may have induced the MM. Champollion to think it a different volume from the Codex 1209; but a very little inquiry might have set their doubts (if any existed) at rest. It may be added, that all the writers who have described this celebrated manuscript (with the exception of Holmes, *Præf. ad Pentateuch.* Oxon. 1798) have asserted that it is written *throughout* in *three* columns, whereas the fact is, as proved by the fac-simile in the present work, and lately verified by the kindness of Cardinal Mai, that the *poetical books* are all written in *two* columns.—Ed.

† In the list of Plates prefixed to the work, this date was altered to the *sixth* century, but undoubtedly through error. The spirits and accents are in part *a prima manu* (as distinctly stated by Professor Birch and Cardinal Mai), but the age of the manuscript is not *therefore* to be lowered to the *sixth* century. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe it to be of the end of the *fourth* or beginning of the *fifth* century. —Ed.

The sixth century may be assigned as the date of the other manuscript, represented in the upper part of the Plate, (being a fragment of the *Roman history* of Dion Cassius, *lib.* 78, *cap.* 22 and 23,) although it has neither spirits nor accents, but its letters are heavier and less elegant; the tail of the Ρ extends greatly below the line, with the loop rather slender; the Γ resembles an open-topped Ρ; some of the letters are conjoined; and some abbreviations occur, with small letters at the end of the lines*; and the Δ has generally points at the ends of the bottom stroke. The writing is continuous. This is considered one of the oldest Greek manuscripts existing. Its text was published at Rome in 1724, by Nic. Carminius Falco†, and a fac-simile was given by Cardinal Quirini. The volume consists only of 26 pages, a little taller than is represented in the Plate, each containing three columns; an arrangement worthy of remark, from its unusual occurrence.

* As is the case in the most ancient Greek manuscripts, the *Codd. Alexandrinus* and *Vaticanus*, the *Cod. Ephræmi*, &c.—Ed.

† This fragment of Dion Cassius was, in part, previously published (in 1582) by Fulvius Ursinus, to whom the manuscript belonged before it was deposited in the Vatican library, No. 1288. Falco assigns it to the fourth, or at latest to the fifth century, and the latter date is probably the true one. The fac-simile executed under the superintendence of Cardinal Quirini, is inserted in vol. ii., p. 1545 of Reimar's edition of Dion Cassius, fol. Hamb. 1750–2, together with a letter from the Cardinal on the subject.—Ed.

PLATE LXI.

SQUARE UNCIAL GREEK WRITING.

IVTH OR V^TH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF THE GREEK PENTATEUCH, IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE.

THE fragments whence the fac-simile in the Plate is taken, have been long known to palæographers, and repeatedly noticed in works relative to the archæology of Greek literature. At the commencement of the last century, Montfaucon did not hesitate to place them among the most ancient Greek manuscripts known, but of late years this opinion, however true when it was written, has been entirely modified by the discovery of numerous other written monuments, and we now possess Greek manuscripts six or seven centuries older than the fragments of the Pentateuch, such as the *Letter of Dioscorides*, already represented on one of the preceding plates of this work.

From such new materials, the work of Montfaucon might be greatly amplified and corrected, and a new code of precepts drawn up for the determination of the age of such writings; a task eminently useful both to the classical and philosophical student.

The fragments before us are written on leaves of fine thin white vellum, of a square 4to form, arranged in quaternions, (the ternions being rarely used by the Greeks,) which being stitched and bound in a volume, with wooden sides, covered with leather or other material, formed a book like

a modern volume. The Greeks named a book βίβλος or βίβλίον, which has become the name, *par excellence*, of the BIBLE.

Only twenty-two leaves of this Pentateuch now remain, seven of which belong to Exodus, thirteen to Leviticus, and two to Numbers. They came from the library of Colbert. Their number, however, was greater when first discovered, since Montfaucon possessed one leaf from Judges, and others passed into the libraries of Jacques Mentelle, of Château-Thierry, and Isaac Vossius*.

This manuscript presents numerous points for palæographic observation†. The page is divided into two columns, with the same number of lines in each column, observed with the greatest regularity. The uncial capital letters are square, *i. e.* as broad as tall, in the rectangular forms, and very wide in the rounded ones. The writing is continuous, the tails of the letters short, scarcely passing below the line, and ending, as well as all the perpendicular strokes, in a bevilled form. Some of the top-strokes are prolonged into hooks, bent inwards; the letters A, Λ, and P, are carelessly written, approaching the minuscule form; ω, in the first line, is turned upside down; Γ, in the fourth line, is almost cursive; and nearly all the lines terminate with small letters necessary to

* The larger portion of this celebrated manuscript is now preserved in the library of the Academy of Leyden, and is known to critics by the title of *Codex Sarravianus*, on account of its having once belonged to Claude Sarrau, Councillor of Parliament, at Paris, from whom it passed to Mentelle and Vossius, and from the latter to Leyden. The portions wanting in this manuscript (which comprehends part of the Pentateuch and books of Joshua and Judges) are precisely those contained in the Colbert manuscript No. 3684, (now No. 17, Bibliothèque Royale), which previously belonged to De Thou. The single leaf mentioned by Montfaucon, seems now to be in the Imperial Library at Petersburgh. See Holmes, *Præf. ad Pentateuch*, and Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, etc., 4to. Leips. 1846.—ED.

† See Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, p. 186, et seq.

complete a word or syllable. Υ and Ι are marked with two dots above when they occur together, but do not belong to the same word or syllable.

There is no punctuation, but three signs are used, namely, 1st, the asterisc (⁂); 2nd, the obelus (— :); and 3rd, the two dots (:). The asteriscs indicate the words of the Hebrew text, not admitted by the Seventy into their Greek version, which words are included between the asterisc and the two dots; the obelus, on the contrary, indicates the words in the Septuagint, which do not occur in the Hebrew. This book therefore contains the text of the Septuagint, with the asteriscs and obeli, as in Origen's *Hexapla*. The fac-simile contains the first nine verses of Leviticus, in which may be remarked various important variations from the modern editions. There are but few abbreviations, indicated by a horizontal line over the word, the most considerable of which occurs in the seventh line, $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$, which is to be read ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟC. The iota (ι) is not subscribed, nor expressed at the end of those words which require it, and sometimes ΕΙ is written for Ι.

This manuscript must be considered a very rare and fine specimen of Greek uncial writing of the fourth or fifth century.

PLATE LXII.

UNCIAL GREEK WRITING.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE VITH CENTURY.

MANUSCRIPT OF DIOSCORIDES, IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA.

THE fac-simile here given is copied from one of the most celebrated Greek manuscripts which exists, containing the works of the Greek physician Dioscorides, who was born at Anazarba, in Cilicia, towards the commencement of the Christian era.

The earliest notice of this precious volume dates as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was seen by Augerius de Busbecke, Ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand I. at Constantinople, in the hands of a Jew, son of the physician of the Sultan Soliman II., and he was unable to purchase it, for want of one hundred ducats, the amount required. The manuscript, however, was rescued from the hands of the Turks a few years afterwards, and deposited in the library at Vienna, probably through the munificence of Maximilian II.,* and not (as an erroneous tradition would represent) from its having been part of the spoil taken from the Turkish army who besieged Vienna in 1529.

This volume is written upon vellum, of a square folio

* Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea-Vindobonensi.* Lib. i., col. 73; lib. ii., col. 127. Edit. Kollar, Vindob. 1766., fol.

form, and contains 491 leaves, the greater portion of which is nearly destroyed by the ravages of time and worms. The cover is ancient, the volume having been bound at Constantinople in 1406, at the expense of the monk Nathanael.

It contains the Treatise of Dioscorides on plants and roots, their fluids, seeds, leaves, and medical properties, arranged alphabetically; an arrangement which Dioscorides objects to in this treatise on medicine, whence it is supposed that this classification of the articles is not the work of the original author, but peculiar to the present manuscript, and those copied from it.

The representation of each plant, carefully drawn, is placed at the side of the text, with the addition of the synonyms of the plants foreign to the Greeks and Romans, such as the Persian, Egyptian, Etruscan, Spanish, Gaulish, Dacian, and other languages; a nomenclature supposed to have been derived from a work of Pamphilus, a Greek grammarian of Alexandria. A general list of the plants described occurs on the eighth page of the manuscript.

The writing is in admirable Greek uncial characters, round, massive, and continuous, with the tails of the letters long, and diagonally truncated, without accents or spirits; the small number observed in the text having been added at a later period.

The first word ἀλοης is in cursive characters, and much more recent than the text. Beneath it, in uncial letters, we read ΑΛΟΗ, announcing that the portion of the text in the Plate relates to the aloe; a figure of which plant is represented in the original opposite the text, accompanied by its several names, as *amphibion, heringion, hermion, tragoceros;* by the Romans, *aloam;* by the barbarians, *aloe.*

ΟΙΔΕ	ΑΜΦΙΒΙΟΝ.
ΟΙΔΕ	ΗΡΥΓΓΙΟΝ.
ΟΙΔΕ	ΕΡΜΙΟΝ.
ΟΙΔΕ	ΤΡΑΓΟΚΕΡΩϹ.
ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ	ΑΛΟΑΜ.
ΠΑΡΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙϹ	ΑΛϹΕ (for ΑΛΟΕ.)

The remainder of the text agrees with the printed editions of Dioscorides. The manuscript is ornamented with many paintings, richly executed, and with portraits of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity, including Dioscorides himself, Chiron, Machaon, son of Esculapius, Xenocrates of Aphrodisia, Heraclides of Tarentum, and Galen. But the most valuable of these miniatures occurs on the sixth leaf, where a royal lady, with a diadem on her head, is represented seated on a throne, having the female personifications of magnanimity and prudence, with their usual attributes, standing on each side, and in ornamental compartments surrounding these figures, are arranged the letters ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΑ; thus proving the chief personage to be intended for the princess Juliana Anicia, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius, grand-daughter of the Emperor Valentinian III., and wife of Areobindus. It is inferred therefore by Lambecius, that this precious manuscript was executed by the orders of the princess, which will fix its date to the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century

PLATES LXIII.—LXIV.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING, INTERMIXED AND RENOVATED.

VITH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

THE Greek manuscript whence the fac-similes in these two Plates have been copied, is one of the most ancient and interesting palæographical monuments; and it will afford us an opportunity of treating upon manuscripts of which the writing has been renovated, and on the utility of examining narrowly the ancient bindings of books. With the first of these subjects is immediately connected the nature of the ink employed by the ancient scribes. It has been ascertained, that the composition of black ink has been the same from the seventh century to our own times, the base of which was formed by smoke, or soot, and sometimes of burnt ivory, pounded charcoal, tartar, or the lees of wine, to which was added gum, and tempered by the heat of the sun alone. Afterwards succeeded the use of sepia and alum, and lastly, in modern times, vitriol or gall-nuts.

From the want of proper mineral ingredients to fix the ancient ink, a great difference is observed in the color of the writing of manuscripts, caused not only by the more or less liquid state of the ink, but also by the texture of the vellum, and even by the mere manual application of the pen, more or less charged with ink. To these causes united, particularly to the composition of the ink, is to be ascribed its

greater or less liability by the effect of time to become reddish, brown, or pale, and even entirely to fade away; and hence also the occasional mordant property of the ink through the substance of the vellum.

It was the custom from a very early period, to renovate writing, when it had become pale or nearly effaced, by passing the pen and ink over the original text; but this renovation was seldom so carefully performed, as exactly to preserve the forms of the ancient letters. In fact, these secondary letters partook of the style of writing in usage at the period, when the renovation took place; and manuscripts thus treated, of course lost their real character of antiquity.

The manuscript before us offers an admirable illustration of the truth of these remarks, bearing evident proofs of the two different states through which it has passed; having been entirely re-written, but preserving fortunately the subscription of the original hand, which has been placed by the most skilful palæographers among the oldest in Europe. It is upon vellum, and formerly consisted of fourteen leaves, but twelve only now remain, which do not constitute a consecutive text, being fragments of a volume written in the fifth or sixth century, which contained the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek. These fourteen leaves were successively discovered in the covers of several other ancient manuscripts, in which they had been employed as waste parchment.

The necessity of examining attentively the bindings of ancient volumes has been often insisted on, and several fortunate discoveries recorded. Jeremiah J. Oberlin, one of the most able critics of the last century, has made known several curious fragments found in the covers of old books in the library of the University of Strasburg, of which he was for a long time the keeper*. He mentions particularly portions of

* *Magasin Encyclopédique* de Millin, vi. Ann. (1801) tom. vi., p. 337; viii. Ann. (1803,) tom. vi., p. 16.

Isidore of Seville, written in Anglo-Saxon characters, of the eighth or ninth century; leaves of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Priscian; various ancient Dutch poems, and the German romances of Tristan and Barlaam. The advice of Oberlin was not without its fruits, for among the singular discoveries it produced, may be mentioned several fragments of Dutch poetry found at Constantinople in the binding of a copy of Froissart's Chronicle (edit. 1513); and at Paris was found a stray leaf detached from the precious manuscript of the *Polyptychum* of the Abbot Irminon, being an *Account of the territories, revenues, and serfs of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, in the reign of Charlemagne**. By the same means has been recovered the first part of a letter of Charlemagne, sending in the names of himself and his wife Fastrada certain delegates to Pope Hadrian I. about the year 784; a precious historical fragment, written in Merovingian characters, and apparently the original document.

The fourteen leaves of the Greek Epistles of St. Paul were discovered in a similar manner, and belonged to the celebrated Abbey of St. Germain des Près, but are now in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris. Only twelve leaves now remain, the two others having been lost during the confusion produced by the disastrous fire in the library of the Abbey, in August, 1794.

One of the leaves fortunately preserves a certificate of the origin of the manuscript to which these leaves belonged, and informs us, that the copy had been collated with another, written by the hand of St. Pamphilus the Martyr, which was in the library of the city of Cæsarea. Now as such notes of collation are rarely met with after the commencement of the sixth century, and as the city of Cæsarea, in Palestine, was destroyed before the middle of the seventh century, these

* Published by M. Guérard, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, imp. roy. 1836–1844, 2 vols. 4to.

combined circumstances prove, that the manuscript must have been written in Palestine or Syria, and not later than the sixth century. Montfaucon, and the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* refer it indeed to the fifth or even the fourth century—"ne connaissant pas de volume Grec, dont les traits historiques et contemporains annoncent une antiquité plus reculée*," an opinion supported by the character of the writing in its primitive state (as shewn in the upper part of Plate LXIV.) in fine capital and uncial Greek letters, mixed, broad, elegant, and upright, without accents or spirits. The subsequent addition of orthographical signs to this intact portion of the original text, will be perceived at the first glance.

The specimens in Plate LXIII., and lower part of Plate LXIV., exhibit the general state of all the leaves. The primitive uncial writing having become almost effaced, an unlucky scribe took upon him to rewrite it with bad black ink, and thus produced the deplorable text before us; the elegant letters of the original hand of the sixth century being buried beneath irregular strokes, rudely formed and disproportionate, and in general heavy and confused. It was then also that the accents and spirits of ancient form were added to the text†.

The period when this renovation took place, as well as the locality, are uncertain; but it was probably the work of one of the monks of the convent of St. Athanasius, on Mount Athos, one of the most considerable belonging to the Greek church still in existence. It is certain that the manuscript passed from Palestine into the library of this monastery, and was destroyed there by the unfortunate and ill-applied zeal of a monk named Macarius, who in the year 1218 undertook the arrangement

* *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 687. [It must be observed that Griesbach assigns this manuscript to the seventh century.—Ed.]

† This assertion appears very doubtful.—Ed.

of the library of the convent; and having given a number to each volume, and placed them on shelves, he caused a portion of the volumes to be rebound, and employed for that purpose the fine manuscript the remains of which form the subject of this article. These facts are preserved in notes written by this same Macarius in all the volumes of the library of St. Athanasius, as a testimony of the arrangement he had introduced; many of which manuscripts have reached us, with these notes attached, together with the leaves of the Greek manuscript used in rebinding them. These leaves were collected by the learned Montfaucon, and were the result of a careful examination of the bindings of the Greek manuscripts in the Coislin collection, deposited in the Abbey of St. Germain des Près; the age of all which manuscripts, and the proof of their being anterior to the year 1218, is established by the fact of these leaves being found in them*.

We have therefore before us the remains of a Greek manuscript executed in Syria or Palestine in the sixth century of our era, which was written over about the tenth or eleventh century; afterwards carried into the library of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos; torn up and employed to bind other manuscripts in the year 1218; and its fragments subsequently conveyed to France, have passed successively into the libraries of the Chancellor Séguier, of his grandson Charles du Cambaul du Coislin, Bishop of Metz, and Peer of France, into that of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, and finally into the Bibliothèque Royale.

The specimen represented in Plate LXIII. is from the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. x., vv. 23—27, and will give a perfect idea of the present degraded state of the manuscript. The fac-simile in Plate LXIV. exhibits the original writing in its perfection, and contains the title of the work—"Epistle of Paul to Titus, ordained first bishop of the

* Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, pp. 252, 253.

Cretans; written from Nicopolis, in Macedonia; in 97 stichi*." The titles were at this period ordinarily placed at the end of Greek manuscripts.

On the lower part of this Plate is seen a portion of the subscription of the scribe (namely, the 1st, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th lines,) to be thus read;

ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΘΕΜΗΝ . . . ΠΡΟC ΤΟ ΕΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΤΗC ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗC ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ.

PLATE LXV.

SMALL GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

GREEK OCTATEUCH, FROM THE COISLIN LIBRARY.

THE manuscript forming the subject of the present notice, is another of those ranked among the most celebrated monuments of palæography. It is a folio volume, measuring 13 inches by 9, of the finest vellum, consisting at present of 227 leaves, but originally a much larger number, and containing the *Octateuch*, or first eight books of the Old Testament, followed by the four books of Kings. It may be considered the first part or volume of a very ancient copy of the entire Bible. Each page is written in double columns, separated by a space of about an inch, with broad margins, which bear numerous annotations of different hands and dates. The lines which determine the width of the columns, and guide the text, are

* This epistle has at present only 46 verses; the division of the text having been altered.

ruled with a hard point. The leaves are arranged in quinternions, each consisting of ten leaves and twenty pages. Each quinternion was numbered, the last bearing the cypher 26; but the volume unfortunately has many *lacunæ*.

The first four leaves at the commencement of the volume contain a portion of an alphabetic list of Hebrew names in the Bible, with their explanation in Greek; but the former part of it is wanting. Then follow the books of *Genesis* (incomplete), *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua* (very imperfect), *Judges*, and *Ruth;* and lastly, the four books of *Kings*, also mutilated. The text is that of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, but critics have remarked, that it often differs so much from that of the Roman edition of the Septuagint, as almost to appear to be a different version; the present manuscript, however, corresponds in many respects with the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus. Some of the marginal notes are added by the writer of the text itself; others are by a scribe of the eighth century; the rest are too modern to be of any critical value. The notes by the first hand are the most numerous and valuable, containing the readings of the early interpreters, such as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Some of the notes also contain allegorical interpretations. The text is written in fine regular, massive, uncial Greek characters; the rectangular letters are square, and the others round; the words continuous, but semi-punctuated. There are both accents and spirits, but doubts have arisen as to their authenticity, since whole pages occur without them, and there are none in the notes written by the first hand; they appear, moreover, to have been made by a less skilful scribe than the writer of the text. On these grounds they are conjectured to be of a later date than the text.

The first word of the fac-simile (fol. 93 *verso*) of the manuscript is the title of the book of Numbers, ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ, in

uncial characters of the same form as the text, but not truncated, with the tail of the P greatly elongated.

The commencement of the text is to be read, ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΛΗCΕΝ $\overline{\text{ΚC}}$ (ΚΥΡΙΟC) ΠΡΟC ΜΩΥCΗΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΡΗΜΩ ΤΗ CΙΝΑ, etc.; and in the opinion of the most learned authorities*, this fine manuscript must be regarded as a production of the sixth, or at the latest, of the seventh century; and equalling in all respects the celebrated Alexandrian and Vatican Greek Bibles. It is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris; having previously belonged to the libraries of Séguier, Coislin, and St. Germain des Près.

PLATE LXVI.

GREEK CURSIVE WRITING.

BEGINNING OF THE VIIITH CENTURY.

GREEK CHARTERS OF PAPYRUS, OF THE TIME OF THE EMPERORS MAURICE AND HERACLIUS.

THE period to which the two charters represented in this Plate belong, is later by several centuries than the age of most of the Greek manuscripts already given in chronological order.

Whether the series of specimens thus brought together should be regarded as forming a monograph of Greek writing, exhibiting its various forms, perfected or corrupted by the effect of time, or in proportion as the usage of writing became

* Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coisliniana et Segueriana.* Cod. No. 1., olim lvi.

more common; or whether (according to the opinion of the most learned palæographers) the specimens should be separated into two distinct sections, of which one should include the writing of the calligraphers, (employed in manuscripts, and always in capital or uncial letters until the ninth century,) and the other the writing of the tachygraphists (which gave rise to the cursive style introduced from the tenth century); in either case the marked distinction between those two kinds of writing must be regarded as forming one of the fundamental rules of Greek palæography; the usage of which, however, was certainly contemporary.

If a comparison of Greek manuscripts, the date of which is clearly fixed to the seventh century, be made with the two charters represented in the Plate, these two kinds of writings will distinctly be recognized; and we find writing perfectly analogous to that of these charters, upon fragments of pottery or calcareous stone bearing Greek texts, written, as well as the charters themselves, in Egypt, where alone we are furnished with an uninterrupted series of written monuments, by which we are enabled, during a period of a thousand years consecutively, from the third century B.C. to the seventh century of the Christian era, to study the various states of Greek writing, in its most important changes.

These two Greek charters are of the latest period of the Byzantine empire, and were found in Egypt. In both, the first character is intended for a cross, indicating at once the Christian epoch in Egypt, and a period only a little anterior to the invasion of the Arabs and Islamism.

The first three lines of the smaller charter contain the protocol, which is to be read as follows, according to the authority of M. Hase :—

† Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμω[ν, β]ασιλείας (*l.* 2.) του γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου, Φλαβίου

Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου, αἰωνίου Αὐγούςου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος. (*l.* 3.) ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου, Ἐπεὶφ κ̄ τρίτης ἰνδ[ικτου].

† *In the name of the Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, God and our Saviour, and in the reign of our most Serene Master, Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, always August, and Emperor, the* 18*th year, the* 20*th of the month Epiphi, the* 3*rd indiction.*

The forms of the several letters in this charter will be seen to resemble those Latin letters which correspond with them in sound, such as *d* for δ, *h* for η, and *u* (*v*) for ϵ. The Greek dipthong οῦ is written ō, and the more ordinary words are contracted at the end, as in the second word of the second line: the form of the π is arbitrarily varied.

The first three lines of the second charter are also its protocol, as follows :—

† Ἐν ὀ[νό]ματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Τριάδος, Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου (*l.* 2) Πνεύματος, βασιλείας τοῦ γαληνοτ[άτου] ἡμῶν δεςπότου, Φλ[αβίου] Ἡρακλείου, (*l.* 3) τοῦ αἰωνείου (*sic*) Αὐγούςου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, ἔτους ἕκτου, Παυνὶ ιᾱ*. ἰνδ. ε̄.

† *In the name of the holy and life-giving Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the reign of our most serene Lord Flavius Heraclius, always August, and Emperor, the* 6*th year, the* 19*th of the month Payni, the* 5*th indiction.*

The syllable νό is omitted in the second word, and the fourth and sixth words of the second line are abbreviated, as in the former charter. In both, the spirits and orthographical accents are omitted.

The dates in these charters are to be computed according to the Egyptian calendar. Without entering into details on this subject, or the corresponding days of the Julian and

* In the charter the date is not ιθ, but θ; not the *nineteenth*, but the *ninth*.—Ed.

Egyptian months, it will be sufficient to say that the date of the first charter corresponds to A.D. 600, and the second to A.D. 616. The difference in the style of writing of these two charters is worthy particular attention.

PLATE LXVII.

UNCIAL GREEK AND ROMAN WRITING.

VIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL IN GREEK AND LATIN.

THIS manuscript has been long celebrated both in the writings of palæographers and the controversies of theologians, as well as in the history of the Bibliothèque Royale.

It is of the ordinary quarto form, and of the precise size represented in the Plate. It now contains 533 leaves, and the text indicates with certainty that only the first and last leaves are wanting. The vellum is of the finest whiteness and purity, some of the leaves being so thin that the ink of the letters has eaten through them. The *Greek* text is written on the left hand pages throughout, and the corresponding *Latin* text upon the opposite or right-hand pages. Each of these texts requires separate consideration. The volume contains all the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek, with the Latin translation opposite. The first word of the volume is part of the seventh verse of the Epistle to the Romans, and the last lines on the *verso* of the 533rd leaf, are those of the Greek text of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Each page contains twenty-one lines. Black and red inks have been simultaneously used, but they have in some places become so

pale as to be illegible. The width of the margins and the lines are indicated by very slight traces of lines ruled with a hard point. The large initial letters of the *alineæ* are always written beyond the marginal limit of the text. Some of the lines, on the contrary, containing citations from the Old Testament, written in vermilion, are *within* the marginal limit of the text; and it is not unusual in ancient manuscripts to find citations of this kind written with a different colored ink, in order to mark the respect due to the passages thus quoted. Red ink is also used for the titles of the different Epistles, and the end of each is marked with rows of dots or commas in black ink.

The lines of the text vary in length, sometimes containing only a single word; and this peculiarity forms one of the graphic characteristics of the manuscript, as it is written *per cola et commata*, that is to say, divided into paragraphs, by divisions and subdivisions, indicated by separate lines which supply the place of punctuation, for the use of the reader*. The manuscript, indeed, as originally written, has no mark of punctuation, nor of accents or spirits, since those now seen, although of the ancient form, have been subsequently added†, as shewn by the different color of the ink. The letters are fair, well-formed Greek uncials, worthy of the best age of calligraphy, and all superfluous ornament is care-

* This arrangement is called *stichometrical*, and was made according to the divisions first introduced by the deacon Euthalius of Alexandria, soon after the middle of the fifth century. On manuscripts of this class see Hug's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. i., pp. 242—246, ed. Lond. 1827.—Ed.

† This statement, as applied to the present and to other ancient manuscripts, may justly be doubted. Montfaucon says, "Accentus et spiritus secunda manu, ut videtur, *nec diu*, ut creditur, *post descriptum codicem adjecti sunt*." This may be very true, as Hug remarks, since one scribe wrote the text, and another the accents, but both might be, and probably were, *contemporary*. Vol. i., pp. 246. 281. See note on Plate LXXII.—Ed.

fully excluded. The words are continuous throughout, and are never broken at the end of a line.

The Latin text is also in uncial writing; elegant and well marked, intermingled with some semi-uncial letters; the words not divided, and the first letters of the *alineæ* written outside the perpendicular margin of the text. It is similarly divided into paragraphs, &c., as in the Greek text. The letter *e* is sometimes found written instead of *i*, and *t* for *d*.

The fac-simile commences with the fifth verse of the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus, and extends to the end of the eighth verse. The Latin text corresponds, line by line, with the Greek.

The antiquity of this precious volume has been much discussed. Montfaucon judged it not earlier than the seventh century*, but the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* consider it at least a century older†, for the following reasons:—the spirits and accents are by a subsequent hand; the letters are not so short and disproportionate as in the celebrated *Codex Alexandrinus*, which is considered of great antiquity; some works are admitted among the canonical books, not recognized as such by the Church; for by the *Stichometria*, or table of verses, we find that the Epistle of Barnabas, the Revelation of John, and that of Peter, once formed part of the text of the volume, when entire. Some of the leaves of this manuscript have an additional value in being *palimpsest*, and fragments of Euripides have been detected beneath the text of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Thirty-five leaves of this valuable manuscript were cut out by the infamous Aymon, one of which was subsequently repurchased at the Hague; and more than twenty years

* *Palæographia Græca*, pp. 217, 218.

† Tom. i., pp. 691, 692; tom. iii., pp. 143, 144.

afterwards*, the Earl of Oxford (Harley), generously sent back the remaining thirty-four leaves to M. Bignon, librarian of the King. These thirty-five leaves are bound up separately; the volume itself having been previously bound whilst they were missing.

The fac-simile is copied from one of these stolen leaves, (folio 451 *verso*, and 452 *recto*,) and commences thus :—

ΕΠΙΔΙΟΡΘΩCΗ	CORRIGAS
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑCΤΗCΗC ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ.	ET CONSTITUAS PER CIVITATES
ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥC	PRAESBYTERIUM
ΩC ΕΓΩ CΟΙ ΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΜΗΝ	SICUT EGO TIBI DISPOSUI
ΕΙ ΤΙC ΕCΤΙΝ ΑΝΕΓΚΛΗΤΟC	SI QUIS EST SINE CRIMINE
ΜΙΑC ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟC ΑΝΗΡ	UNIUS UXORIS VIR
ΤΕΚΝΑ ΕΧΩΝ ΠΙCΤΑ,	FILIOS HABENS FIDELES.

The Greek text of this passage agrees with all the editions considered as exact, but this is not the case with the Latin, as Montfaucon has remarked ; but the differences from the Vulgate is limited to a few of the words and letters.

The University of Cambridge possesses a manuscript very similar to the one before us, being also a portion of the Bible, which is known under the name of the *Codex Bezæ*, having previously belonged to Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin. It has been supposed, that the Cambridge manuscript and the one now under notice originally formed portions of one volume†; and the same opinion has also been entertained respecting a similar manuscript at Leyden. Some of the most learned men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bestowed great attention on this precious volume, at a period when discussions relative to the sacred text were very animated. The illustrious J. Scaliger, in a letter to Casaubon,

* In 1729. The original letters that passed on the occasion are preserved in MS. *Harl.* 1773.—Ed.

† This was the opinion of Dr. Mill, but it has been refuted by Wetstein and Bishop Marsh. See Horne's *Introd. to the N. Test.*, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 118 ; ed. 1839.—Ed.

mentions this manuscript, and assigns to it a venerable antiquity. According to some authorities, it might even be referred to the fifth century,—an opinion, however, which has met with opposition.

It is certain that this manuscript, as well as the Cambridge one, came originally from the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons*. It bears some corrections in Greek uncials on the margins; and, as these characters were not in use in the West, it has been thence considered, as well as from the state of the Latin text, that the manuscript was brought from Greece, and was preserved there until the ninth century at least. As it possesses, however, no special reference to the Greek Church, some doubts exist on this point; but its claim to be considered as one of the most celebrated of its contemporaries of the sixth and seventh centuries is universally admitted.

PLATE LXVIII.

GREEK SLOPING UNCIAL WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

GREEK LECTIONARIUM FOR EACH DAY OF THE YEAR.

The term *Lectionarium* is applied to the collection of those portions of the New Testament which are read throughout the year in the offices of the Church, according to the order of the festivals and fasts; and it is to the Fathers of

* Here again the French editors seem in error. The volume before us is usually stated to have been procured from the monastery of Clermont, in the diocese of Beauvais. It afterwards belonged to Beza, as well as the Cambridge manuscript, and then to Du Puy; at whose death, in 1656 it passed into the Bibliothèque Royale.—Ed.

the Greek Church that a written tradition* ascribes the merit of their selection and arrangement.

The manuscripts containing these *Lections* are generally written in large characters, with special marks over the syllables of certain words, which served to guide the modulation of the tones of the reader.

The manuscript from whence the present fac-simile has been copied is one of these Lectionaries, in large letters, the text of which is accompanied by signs of intonation. It is of a large quarto size, written on thick vellum, with very pale yellowish ink, much worn, with two columns in a page. It forms three volumes, and belongs to the Royal Library of Munich; having been obtained from the ancient library of the Princes Radzivil of Poland.

The titles and initial letters are in red ink, but occasionally in gold. The general appearance of the uncial writing resembles that used in the tenth century; but an attentive examination will discover that the letters are very varied in form, and the only character common to them all is, that the strokes slope equally towards the left. Some of the letters are, in fact, rounded uncials, others square, and others tall and narrow; the Μ, Ω, Κ, Φ, Ν, and Ψ, are of large size, as broad as high; whilst the Ρ, Ε, Ο, C, Δ, Λ, Θ, and Γ, are so compressed, as to present a disagreeable contrast in the text; whilst the Π, Η, and Υ are varied according to the space in the lines, and the Α appears almost in the minuscule form.

It is to the same period, the eighth century, that the magnificent Lectionary of Vienna† belongs; but if the two are compared, a striking difference will be seen to exist between

* Contained in some verses on the first leaf of a Greek *Lectionarium* of the eighth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 700.

† In the French text this manuscript is referred to as forming part of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, but this must be an error, as proved by the succeeding Plate LXIX.—Ed.

these two works executed in the same century. In the Munich manuscript the text is finely executed, but fails in the irregularity and disproportion of its letters; whilst in the Vienna manuscript the letters are so skilfully and carefully formed, being placed at equal distances apart, as to exhibit a certain appearance of loose elegance. It may further be conjectured that the letters in the Munich manuscript have somewhat of a Slavonic physiognomy. The letters at the head of the fac-simile indicate the 15th chapter, but the text consists of the 22nd chapter of St. Matthew, vv. 35—42. The accents and spirits of Greek orthography occur in this manuscript placed above the letters, written in black ink; other marks also are placed above, below, or near the middle of a letter, in red ink, which are signs of intonation for the reader. The small black circumflexed stroke indicates the suppression of the letter N at the end of a word. Other contractions also are found in the text, as well as several faults, such as ΤΟ for τῷ, and ΕΦΗ instead of εἶπεν of the printed editions; the letters ΠΗ are sometimes conjoined. Some of the larger initials are in red, and written out of the perpendicular line of the text; the first, Τ, is ornamented with interlacings and foliations; and the last, Ν, has a bead in the middle of its diagonal stroke. The tops of some of the letters are not truncated, and the bases of others are scarcely formed. On the whole, this uncial writing is thick and heavy, but regular and easy to read, although the words are not divided; the scribe, indeed, has sacrificed elegance to regularity.

PLATE LXIX.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING IN GOLD.

CLOSE OF THE VIIITH CENTURY.

GREEK EVANGELIARIUM FOR THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS OF THE YEAR.

A MANUSCRIPT, whatever may be its subject, written in letters of gold upon purple vellum, is of the highest value and rarity, especially if it be a thousand years old, as is the case with the volume from which two pages have been copied in the fac-simile given in the Plate. This volume is an Evangeliarium, or collection of passages from the Gospels appointed to be read in the ordinary or special festivals of the Church, and contains the lessons for the nineteen Δεσποτικαὶ ἑορταὶ, or principal feasts of the Greek Church, the most solemn of which is Easter. The notices collected respecting this volume will throw a light on its history, and the vicissitudes it has undergone.

Montfaucon mentions* his having seen this volume in the library of the Augustine monastery of St. John *de Carbonaria* at Naples. He confesses he had seen nothing more beautiful than this volume, which is of a square form, as wide as high, written on purple vellum, like the manuscript Psalter of St. Germain ; but with this difference, that the latter is in Latin, and in silver letters, except the titles, and the names of God and our Lord, which are in gold ; whilst the Naples manuscript is in Greek, and written entirely in gold.

* In his *Diarium Italicum*, 4to., Par. 1702, p. 508.—ED.

Montfaucon wrote in 1702, and not long afterwards Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, succeeded to the throne, and by the treaties of 1714 and 1733, obtained the sovereignty of Naples. In this interval the Augustins of St. John *de Carbonaria* presented their new sovereign with this precious Evangeliary, which was added to the treasures of the Imperial Library of Vienna*.

During the late war it was carried to Paris, where it remained several years, and was entered under No. 27 in the new catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale; but subsequently it was restored to the Imperial Library at Vienna, where the fac-simile was made.

In the time of St. Jerome manuscripts written in silver or gold, on purple vellum, were well known, and he even terms them ancient, but does not appear to attach any value to these or to manuscripts written in uncials; probably on account of their great size and weight, resulting from the large letters, and consequent extent of the text. This objection cannot be applied to the volume represented in the fac-simile; and even the larger manuscripts, although despised by the celebrated Doctor of the Latin Church, are esteemed of the highest value by the moderns, and are of extreme rarity, both in Greek and Latin. The Greeks, however, employed purple and gold in their manuscripts more frequently than the Latins. It is not indeed rare to find a few purple leaves at the commencement of a Greek manuscript, and also the titles of the principal divisions, and even some whole pages, written in letters of gold; but a volume written throughout in gold on purple leaves, whether in Greek or Latin, is a palæographic monument of the utmost rarity,—a treasure both for literature and art, and the preservation of which merits the most abundant care.

* See a full description of this manuscript by Kollar, in his supplemental volume to Lambecius, fol. 1790, col. 56, No. 7.—Ed.

This Vienna manuscript is written in fine well-proportioned round and square uncial letters, without that admixture of elongated letters which disfigures other ancient manuscripts. If a few of the letters of this manuscript are of a smaller size than the rest, they occur at the end of a line from want of space. The remainder of the text is of rare perfection, and might serve as a model. The abbreviations are but few, and the marks of accents which occur do not appear to be ancient*. The text is not divided into verses: a square Greek cross alone marks the stops.

The first specimen is the Gospel for Easter, containing the commencement of the Gospel of St. John†, as indicated by the title, ЄIC AΓION ΠACXA Kᵀ Ī̅Ѡ (Κατὰ Ἰωάννην). The second specimen is part of the Gospel for the fifth Sunday after Easter, in which we read NIKOΔIMOC, instead of NIKOΔHMOC, by an iotacism.

In all respects this volume presents us with a beautiful specimen of the uncial Greek characters of the end of the eighth century.

* Here again, even in the *eighth* century, we find the accents denied to be coeval with the text! This assertion can scarcely be true; for Kollar, who carefully examined the manuscript, only says, "accentus et spiritus quidem in eo adpingi, sed raro."—Ed.

† There is some mistake here in the French text. Only one specimen (in two pages) is given in the Plate, which contains chap. iii., vv. 1, 2, of the Gospel of John, appointed to be read on the *fifth day* after Easter. —Ed.

PLATE LXX.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

COMMENTARIES ON ISAIAH.

In the opinion of the most learned masters of Greek palæography this magnificent manuscript is to be assigned to the ninth century; the writing being in Greek uncials, but instead of the upright, round, or square forms, we here find them long, high, close, and sloping. The words are not divided, but punctuated almost completely by means of round dots; the spirits are also expressed, but incompletely, and their new form coincides with the ancient; the accentuation leaves less to be desired; and it is well known, that at the period to which this volume is attributed, these orthographical forms were not yet rigorously introduced into the texts in general use. The letters incline to the right; their strokes do not appear to be truncated, and are not connected together; the letters Θ and Δ,—the first by the elongation of the transverse stroke, and the last by the elongation of the line at the base, sometimes with knobs at the ends,—are also very characteristic of the date given to the manuscript. The initial letters of the two paragraphs in the fac-simile differ only from the text by their size, being destitute of ornaments. It is, indeed, to the artist rather than the calligraphist that the volume here owes its merit.

Examples of illuminated Greek MSS. of the ninth and previous centuries are not very rare*, and sometimes adorned

* It must by no means hence be inferred that such volumes are at all common.—Ed.

with a profusion of miniatures, which illustrate the subjects of the text they accompany; thus, in Hesiod, we find the instruments of agriculture described by the poet; in Dioscorides, the plants are drawn in their natural forms and colors; in Homer, the exploits of the heroes of the Iliad; and in Biblical manuscripts, the most interesting events recorded in the sacred text.

A splendid specimen of this usage is presented to us in the Plate. The subject painted above the Greek text is of unusual size for a miniature, and is composed of one principal and four accessory figures, being a representation of the sixth vision of the prophet Isaiah (chap. vi., vv. 1—7.)

"In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw also the LORD sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up. Above it stood the seraphim; each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried. Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips. Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar. And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo! this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged."

The illuminator has ornamented the footstool of the throne of God with gems; he appears to have misunderstood the posture of the seraphim and the use of their wings; the attitude of Isaiah is that of a man humbled by his faint-heartedness, and the comforter of the prophet is represented as an angel, instead of a cherubim, as expressed in the Scriptures.

The Greek words introduced into the miniature are more true to the text. The abbreviated forms, $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$, above the principal figure, designate him as ΙΗCΟΥC ΧΡΙCΤΟC, *Jesus Christ;* the seraphim are designated by the word CЄΡΑΦЄΙΜ; the word ΑΓΙΟC, *Holy*, thrice repeated, is the sacred exclamation; the remainder of it being written by the side of

the first seraphim; ΑΓΙΟC, ΑΓΙΟC, ΑΓΙΟC, $\overline{\text{KC}}$ (ΚΥΡΙΟC) CΑΒΑΩΘ, ΠΛΗΡΙC* Ο $\overline{\text{ΟΥ}}$ΝΟC (ΟΥΡΑΝΟC) ΚΑΙ Η ΓΗ ΤΗC ΔΟΞΗC ΑΥΤΟΥ,—"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts; heavens and earth are filled with his glory." On the opposite side of the page, the words ΗCΑΙΑC Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC indicate the prophet himself; whilst the angel holding a burning coal with the tongs, purifies the lips of Isaiah, which he announces in these words:—ΛΑΒΗC ЄΧΟΥCΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΑΚΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΦЄΑЄΙ ΤΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC CΟΥ.

The text commences with the words, ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΩΣ, &c., which, with the remainder of the two columns, forms a portion of a commentary on this vision of the prophet, which, like all the other passages in the Old Testament which have been cited as witnesses to the New, has met with numerous annotators.

This precious volume, equally remarkable as a monument of art by its paintings, and for its calligraphic beauty, as a specimen of the uncial writing of the ninth century, belongs to the library of the Vatican, at Rome.

PLATE LXXI.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

THE HOMILIES OF ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

THE manuscript of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, No. 510, written on vellum, and of a very large size, cedes neither in beauty nor elegance to any other

* Read ΠΛΗΡΗC, the scribe having fallen into this error through an *iotacism*.

now extant. It is throughout written with a magnificence truly imperial; and appears to have been written for the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, who, together with his family, is represented in the first two miniatures of the volume, painted on a golden ground; the iambic verses which accompany them naming Basil as the reigning sovereign*. Forty-five paintings of large size, resplendent with gold, illustrate the subject of Gregory's Homilies, and the initial letters are not less richly ornamented. Such was the opinion of Montfaucon, at the commencement of the last century, and the Greek manuscripts since discovered have not in the least degree impaired its truth. It is still confessed to be one of the most beautiful and most ancient Greek manuscripts in the world.

The printed catalogue†, in order to indicate its origin, names it *Medicæus*, an application used to distinguish those manuscripts which in the year 1599 passed to the Bibliothèque du Roi from the library of Catherine de' Medici. The Abbé Jacques de Billy, who died in 1581, who published an edition and translation of the Works of Gregory Nazianzen, and collated the present manuscript, designated it by the title of the *Codex Reginæ*, as belonging at that time to the Queen. Her grandfather, Lorenzo de' Medici, having obtained a great number of those precious volumes, which the capture of Constantinople by the Turks caused to be brought into Italy, his son, Pope Leo X., received a portion of them by inheritance, which subsequently passed to his nephew, the Cardinal Ridolfi, who died in 1550. They were then purchased by the Marshal

* Basil the Macedonian ascended the throne in the year 867, and died in 886, previous to which year the manuscript must have been executed.—Ed.

† *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ*, 4 vols. fol. Par. 1739-1744. The notice of the manuscript in question occurs in vol. ii., p. 79, No. 510.—Ed.

Strozzi, and upon his death before Thionville, in 1558, they were confiscated by the Queen; having, as she asserted, been illegally dismembered from the library of the Medici family. When she died, in 1589, they were retained by order of the king, "pour la posterité, conservation des bonnes lettres, et pour l'honneur du royaume, et impossibilité de pouvoir colliger et assembler à présent une telle bibliothèque, pour quelque prix et en quelque pays que ce soit." The magnificent volume before us was, doubtless, one of those which inspired François Pithou with these sentiments.

From this volume Du Cange has taken the subjects of some of the plates of his *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*, and his *Historia Byzantina;* and this circumstance alone is sufficient to prove the importance and value of the manuscript. Five large miniatures occur at the commencement of the volume. The first represents Christ seated, holding the volume of the Gospels; the second, the Empress Eudocia, wife of Basil, and their two sons, Leo and Alexander. Two gemmed crosses are represented in the third and fourth miniatures; the figure of the Emperor himself standing upright occupies the fifth; the prophet Elias presents him with the *labarum*, and the archangel Gabriel places the diadem on his head.

The paintings in the body of the volume occupy 41 pages, disposed into three or four horizontal divisions, and representing as many subjects, extremely varied, and which, independent of their merit as authentic monuments of the state of the art of design in the Greek empire in the ninth century, furnish an abundance of details useful for the study of costume, architecture, and the artistic traditions of the same period.

The miniature in the Plate is copied from the *verso* of folio 143, in which, commencing on the left hand, some Greek words enable us to recognize Jeremiah let down into the

cistern, Bathsheba, an archangel, and Nathan the prophet rebuking the penitent King David.

The frequent usage of similar inscriptions in paintings, forms one of the characteristics of the Byzantine school of arts.

The Greek text of the fac-simile is the commencement of a discourse of St. Gregory (p. 44); and has for its subject the death of his sister, as indicated by the words inclosed in an ornamental square, + ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟC + The text itself commences with the words ΑΔΕΛΦΗΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΩΝ. The long lines at the foot of the page, although in a different character, are nevertheless of the same period; and these three texts belong to the same species of writing, namely, the Greek uncial; massive, continuous, square, and straight in the first example; tall and sloping in the second; and in the third differing only from the first in its smaller proportions. In all these varieties the spirits retain their ancient form. We have thus three fine specimens of uncial Greek writing of the ninth century united together in the volume before us.

PLATE LXXII.

MIXED UNCIAL GREEK WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

GREEK EVANGELIARIUM OF THE LIBRARY OF ST. MARK, AT VENICE.

ALTHOUGH this work contains a considerable number of specimens of uncial Greek writing in use in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the different countries in which the Greek

Church was established, yet the present fac-simile will not be the less remarkable as an example of a singularly elegant style of writing. It is copied from a manuscript belonging to the celebrated library of St. Mark at Venice, and is written on vellum, of a 4to form, consisting of 219 leaves. It bears the No. 12 in the catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of this library, published in 1740 under the auspices of Lorenzo Theupolo, Procurator of Saint Mark.

It contains the portions of the New Testament read in the daily service of the Greek Church, in the order of the feasts and other solemnities; an arrangement attributed to the Greek Fathers, and which has been preserved in the printed rituals, and confirmed by usage to our own times. This manuscript, therefore, must be classed among liturgical books rather than among the copies of Holy Writ used for religious reading. The form and size of the letters support this opinion. It is evident, however, that the volume was not intended for the choral service, as it does not bear the musical notes found in manuscripts of that kind.

The marks observed over some of the letters are the spirits and accents peculiar to the Greek language, but these orthographical and grammatical signs are not very regularly written. Although invented at least two centuries before the Christian era, for the purpose of fixing and regulating the orthography and correct pronunciation of the Greek language, they are not found in manuscripts written before the seventh century; and if they occasionally occur in earlier manuscripts, they have been added by later hands. It is, therefore, to the seventh century that the most learned writers on Greek palæography fix the general introduction of these signs, and even then they were not employed with a rigorous exactness, as is the case in the volume before

us*. The spirits are of the antique form, that is, rectangular, resembling a mallet, with its handle towards the left or right, according as the spirit is hard or soft. The accents have the form of the grave or sharp accents of the French; and the circumflex accent in the manuscript has nearly the shape of a reversed crescent. A horizontal line, with a dot at each end, is placed over the contracted words, and a curved line, placed above a vowel, indicates the suppression of the letter N at the end of a word, instances of which occur in each of the first two lines of the second column.

The division of the text (which comprises the commencement of St. Mark's Gospel) nearly agrees with the ordinary division of the Gospels into verses, judging at least from the single page before us; but the scribe appears to have sacrificed perspicuity to economy, by suppressing the *alineæ*. The capital initial letter of each verse occurs, in fact, at the beginning of the first entire line of the verse, although the verse may have commenced in the preceding line; and hence, by

* The MM. Champollion are here the servile copiers of the words of Montfaucon, who speaks only of the manuscripts he had himself seen, "Quæ vero dicimus *de visis tantum*."—(Palæogr. Gr. p. 33.) Later writers, particularly Knittel, Hwiid, Marsh, and Hug, have called in question the accuracy of Montfaucon's remarks, and with reason. The passages alleged from Epiphanius Περι μετρων και σταθμων, and from St. Augustine, *Quæst. in Heptateuch*, lib. i., qu. 162, prove decisively the use of accents and spirits in the sacred books during the fourth century, and this is abundantly confirmed by the evidence of the manuscripts in uncials still existing. They are by the *first* or *coeval* hand in the Cod. Vaticanus 1209; in the Cod. Alexandrinus, vv. 1, 2, 13, 14 of cap. i. of Genesis, written in red (a fact never before noticed); in the Cod. Borg. S. Joh.; in the Cotton MS., Tit. C. xv.; in the Codd. Sarrav. et Colbert; in the Cod. Coislin, No. 1.; in the Codd. Claromont. and Sangermanens.; and in the Milan and British Museum Homers. None of these manuscripts are, probably, later than the sixth century, and some are of the fourth or fifth. The whole question of accents and spirits deserves a distinct treatise, but what is here said will be sufficient to set aside the repeated assertions made by the French editors of the present work, as to their *recent* employment.—Ed.

the adoption of this singular plan, it happens, that the first letter of the fifth verse of the fac-simile occurs in the middle of a word.

A dome-shaped rotunda, in gold and silver, contains the title of the Gospel, written in golden uncials; the two following lines are also in gold, and some of the letters are pearled. The rest of the text is written in mixed uncials, that is to say, some letters are square, as M, Z, H; others, as Є, Θ, O, C, Φ, are round; others again are taller than broad, as A, Γ, Λ, N, P, Є; B is irregular; the tail of the P is often terminated by a fine hair-stroke; in general the strokes of the letters are not truncated; some of the tails are cut off diagonally, and many of the rounded letters are thickened in the interior.

The initial letters of the verses are placed out of the perpendicular line of the text, and in the variety of their forms exhibit the taste of the scribe. The first two are floreated A's, the first being also pearled; the three other initials are likewise variously pearled.

This fine mixed uncial writing, together with the text itself, fix the date of the manuscript to the ninth century, which is nearly also the period to which it is assigned in the catalogue of the library of St. Mark.

The fac-simile contains the first verses of the Gospel of St. Mark.

PLATE LXXIII.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM FOR THE FESTIVALS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE manuscript from which this fac-simile is taken must be considered as one of the most elegant specimens of Greek uncial writing that it is possible to find. The character is massive, higher than broad, upright, the letters formed of thick and thin strokes, very distinct, regular, and well-proportioned; the initial letters of the verses being out of the perpendicular, and each page written in double columns.

This beautiful volume is in small folio, on vellum, consisting of 226 leaves, and belongs to the Laurentian Library at Florence. It is composed of five distinct parts, as usual in liturgical manuscripts, which contain the lessons from the Gospels throughout the year, as read on Sundays and festivals in the Greek Church.

The first division in the manuscript before us contains the lessons from the Gospel of St. John, to be read daily from Easter to Pentecost. The second division contains the lessons from St. Matthew, to be read every Saturday and Sunday of the Pentecost, and which are generally indicated only by the first and last words of the lesson. The third division is taken from the Gospel of St. Luke, and appropriated to thirty-five Saturdays, and thirty-five Sundays; with the addition of four lessons from St. Matthew. The fourth division contains only nine lessons from St. Mark, followed by many other extracts

from St. John and St. Matthew. Lastly, the fifth division consists of a *Menologium*, or collection of lessons to be read on the other saints' days throughout the year, from the 1st September to the end of August; such being the order of the calendar in the Greek Church. The volume terminates with the lessons from the four Gospels, containing an account of the Resurrection.

The text throughout is loaded with interlineary accents, spirits, and musical notes. The spirits are of the antique mallet-shape, and the circumflex accent is of a reversed crescent form; and if this grammatical portion of the manuscript is not always scrupulously correct, it must be remembered, that at the period when it was written, these orthographical marks had only recently been generally introduced into manuscripts. Besides these, there are other interlineary signs, which are musical notes; and some critics have supposed, that with these notes the accents were almost useless, and served neither for singing, nor for the regular reading of the syllables, but for their modulations; the musical marks being the major, and the accents the minor notes. It will be observed, in favor perhaps of the preceding remark, that the musical notes and the accents are uniformly rubricated in this manuscript, and hence a probable identity of expression; the spirits, on the contrary, are written in black ink. All the capital letters written outside the perpendicular margin of the text, are ornamented, colored, and heightened with gold. The ornamental heading is especially rich and elegant, and the manuscript contains four other headings equally splendid, which indicate the text of the three other Gospels and the Menologium. The words in gold, ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ Α̅ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ, form the title of the third section of the manuscript, and the extracts from St. Luke's Gospel commence with the first Saturday. The words of the text,

commencing—ΤΩ ΚΑΙΡΩ ΕΚΕΙΝΩ ΗΛΘΕΝ Ο $\overline{\text{ΙC}}$ (ΙΗCΟΥC) ΕΙC ΚΑΠΕΡΝΑΟΥΜ, &c., are from chapter iv., v. 31 of this Gospel, and the fac-simile extends to v. 35.

As a most splendid monument of the graphic art of the ninth century, this manuscript is worthy of the utmost admiration*.

PLATES LXXIV., LXXV.

ELONGATED GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

WORKS OF ST. DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE, IN THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY AT FLORENCE.

In explaining the principles of Greek palæography, as applied to manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries, Montfaucon observes, chapter vi., that in manuscripts previous to the eighth century, round and square letters were employed, but that in the eighth and ninth centuries, oblong and narrow characters were employed in Greek manuscripts, some of which bear a date. Among the manuscripts of this period, the traces of square and rounded letters are occasionally preserved, but they slope either to the right or left, and the points are massive and nearly square. At this period also the Θ is crossed horizontally by a line extending on each side beyond its circumference; the two extremities of the base of the Δ rest upon two prominent triangular dots, and the Δ of the regular form is rarely met with. Such manuscripts are numerous in the libraries of France and Italy.

We should in vain try to characterize the writing of the

* See Bandini, *Catal. Manuscriptorum Biblioth. Mediceo-Laurentianæ*, No. 31, pp. 157, 158.

manuscript before us more exactly than in the preceding words of Montfaucon.

This fine volume, which belongs to the Laurentian library at Florence, contains the writings attributed to the Dionysius who was converted by the preaching of St. Paul at Athens, and who after having been ordained the first bishop of that city, by this apostle, was afterwards burnt as a martyr in A.D. 95; and was called the *Areopagite*, from his having been a member of the *Areopagus* or Senate of Athens. He has often been confounded with the apostle of the Gauls, who was his contemporary.

The writings of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, or of the writer who adopted his name in the fifth century, judging from the number of very early manuscript copies of them still existing, must have been much prized. Of these, a manuscript belonging to the Fathers of the monastery of St. Basil at Rome, rivals, in points of antiquity and magnificence, the Laurentian manuscript now under notice. It is known also, that in consequence of the fame of St. Denis, the Emperor Manuel Palæologus, who visited Paris in the year 1400, subsequently sent a copy of the works of the Areopagite, written in the eleventh century, to the Abbey of St. Denis, by the hands of Chrysoloras.

The Florence manuscript is at least two centuries earlier, as indicated by the writing; fac-similes of which are given in the two Plates belonging to this notice, which are very characteristic of the period.

The specimen occupying the lower part of the first Plate, is copied from the first leaf of the manuscript, and is headed by a rubric, which is the title of a short epigram on St. Dionysius (given in the four following lines) on the subject of his *Treatise on the Celestial Hierarchy*, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗC ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑC ΙΕΡΑΡΧΙΑC. This rubric is in small uncial Greek capitals, of an elongated form, with very slender tails, intermixed

with square letters. The four lines beneath are written in large massive upright uncials, with the words not divided; the letters Ε, C, O, Θ, ω, Φ, being round, and the M, T, H, N, Π, square; the tails slender at the ends, which are cut off obliquely, their tops dilated, and truncated nearly horizontally.

The second specimen in the upper part of the first Plate, is headed by the rubricated title to the same treatise, which is divided into fifteen chapters. Its writing resembles that of the title of the epigram just described.

The text which follows is written in double columns, and presents an admirable example of the long or oblong Greek uncial characters, generally massive, but mixed with fine hair-strokes in the C, P, O, Y, and Λ; the C* sometimes thickened in the middle of the semicircle, and the Ω formed acutely, approaching the form of W. All the letters are perfectly upright, and the strokes truncated at the top; they are placed at regular distances, with the words continuous; the spirits are of the ancient, and the accents of the ordinary form; and the points either square or lozenge-shaped. The initials agree with these general characters; a T narrowed in the middle of its upright stroke, has its base dilated.

The writing in the second Plate, on the contrary, slopes considerably to the right. It is also much smaller, although equally belonging to the massive uncial Greek character, with thick strokes and delicate hair-lines; wide, spaced, continuous, and not truncated at the base; the upright stroke of the Φ long and wedge-shaped, and the points either square or round; with spirits and accents of the same forms as in the examples in the preceding Plate. Both are excellent specimens of Greek writing in the ninth century.

* And Ε—Ed.

PLATE LXXVI.

GREEK UNCIAL WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

THE GOSPELS, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE volume which has furnished the fac-simile before us, is of a 4to form, written upon the finest vellum, and remarkable for the elegance of its execution. Its history is also interesting.

The form of the letters would lead us to suppose, that it was written in Greece by a skilful calligrapher, either for some church or for a person of distinction; whilst various notes in Arabic prove, that it subsequently belonged to some Christian in the East. Portraits of St. Luke, St. Mark, and St. John, wretchedly executed by a Slavonic artist, precede their respective Gospels, and a Slavonic inscription is written near the figure of St. Luke; hence it is conjectured, that this manuscript passed from the East to the Muscovite territories. Subsequently its destiny carried it to France, where it became the property of the learned Abbé François de Camps, who presented it to Louis XIV., by whom it was placed in the Bibliothèque Royale, where it bears the No. 48.

The volume commences with the table of the Gospels for the festivals throughout the year, followed by the notice of Eusebius concerning the canons, the canons or concordances themselves, the chronology of the texts, by Hippolytus, and the Gospels, with marginal references to the canons. We find in this, as in most of the more ancient copies of the Greek

Gospels, the name of Joachim is introduced in the genealogy of Christ given in St. Matthew's Gospel, between Josias and Jechonias, which name is not admitted into the Latin Vulgate.

The fac-simile represents the first page of the manuscript. A vignette with a white ground occupies the top of the first column, composed of a square, having the angles floreated, within which is a double circle, inclosing a floreated cross, with four roundels introduced into the open spaces. Beneath this we read in letters of gold, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ + ΒΙΒΛΟC ΓΕΝΕCΕѠC ΙῩ ΧῩ (ΙΗCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ) being the title and first line of the Gospel of St. Matthew; the remainder being the continuation of the first chapter of this Gospel. The fac-simile comprises the first seven and half of the eighth verse, according to the ordinary division, of which, however, the manuscript offers no trace. It will be perceived that, for greater clearness, each generation is separated in the text from the one following by a small red Greek cross.

The letters of the title are rather larger, and more like capitals than the rest of the text. Several of the round letters are thickened inside, but the whole is in a fine, full, massive, Greek uncial character, slightly sloping from left to right; the hair-strokes elegantly united with the thick ones; the Ρ with a long slender pointed tail; the cross-bar of the Θ extending beyond the sides of the letter, and the basal stroke of the Δ elongated, and terminated by two triangular points.

Montfaucon asserted, that no Greek manuscript was written in uncial letters posterior to the ninth century, with the exception of certain volumes destined for the offices of the church; an assertion which would be embarrassing in respect to the volume before us; and the learned Benedictine has himself stated, that the writing of the present volume indicates the ninth century. This style of writing, however, was

retained in liturgical works during the tenth, and even the eleventh centuries; the manuscript in question was written for the use of a church, as appears by the interlineary musical notes; and we find in it also some various readings by a contemporary hand, written in cursive characters;—all of which circumstances indicate the tenth century as the real era of the manuscript*. Spirits and accents occur in the text, but grammarians will find cause to complain of the scribe in respect of this portion of his work; the spirits retain their ancient form. Both kinds of orthographical signs are found in manuscripts of the eighth century, but more frequently in those of the ninth and tenth.

PLATE LXXVII.

UNCIAL AND CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

COMMENTARIES ON THE PSALMS, AND BIBLICAL PRAYERS.

THE several specimens of Greek writing represented in this Plate are copied from a magnificent folio volume, belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 139, written on fine and beautifully white vellum. The variety and perfection of the characters, as well as the number of the miniatures with which it is ornamented, and the merit and singular style of these paintings, render this volume one of the most remarkable monuments of Greek palæography.

These miniatures, thirteen in number, were executed, as well as the text itself, at Constantinople, and the figures in them, which are not less than $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, exhibit

* Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, p. 260.

numerous vestiges of the art of the ancients, and of the careful study which the artist had made of its monuments. Natural phenomena and the human passions are personified with boldness, and are introduced into scenes together with historical personages, whose costume is copied from the antique with remarkable skill and exactness.

The employment of prosopopœia will thus appear to have been one of the most constant characters of Greek art in all its stages; and if the study of the vases painted with representations of the mythology of Greece has furnished an extensive nomenclature of the natural facts or ideas thereby personified, the monuments of art executed when Greece was christianized, teach us also that Greek genius remained constantly inventive and impassioned, but disposed to the marvellous, and extending far beyond the bounds imposed by nature.

The number of illuminated Greek manuscripts existing is considerable, both in regard to sacred and profane texts; in all of which iconographic inventions abound.

Many and very varied examples of this talent of the Greek artists for personification may be selected from the manuscript before us. The first miniature exhibits David playing on the harp, and near him is a female, representing *Melody,* and the figure of a man with the upper part of the body naked, the lower enveloped in a blue mantle, the right hand resting on his head, crowned with verdure, and the left extended on the trunk of a tree, being a personification of the *Mountain of Bethlehem.* In other paintings David is represented accompanied by personifications of *Invention, Force, Meekness, Courage, Arrogance, Wisdom, Prophecy,* and *Prayer.*

The passage of the Red Sea is a model for compositions of this class. A female clad in a blue tunic, with a stelliferous blue veil over her head, represents *Night;* near her is seated a young man covered with a red mantle, and with arms

extended; this is *the Desert.* Out of the gulf of waves of the Red Sea rises the figure of a swarthy man of hideous form, who seizes the King of Egypt with his vigorous arms, and draws him downwards; this is *the Abyss.* Behind him a female figure holds an oar in her left hand; this is *the Red Sea:*—the names of each not being arbitrary, but distinctly written near each personage.

From these details it will be seen, that the present volume furnishes a profound and interesting study, but as our work has not for its object either the representation or interpretation of such miniatures, we must confine our remarks to the beautiful calligraphic characters of the volume, of which the Plate represents four varieties, copied from different leaves.

The specimen from fol. 141, *verso*, is written in fine small golden uncial capitals, round, upright, truncated, and continuous; with the bases and tails of some of the letters triangular. The accents are properly placed, and the spirits of the ancient form. The passage commences with the words ΕΙϹ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟϹ ϹΥΝΕϹΕΩϹ, etc.

The second specimen, copied from fol. 10, *verso*, is written in cursive characters, round, continuous, elegant, and conjoined; the spirits and accents of the ordinary form, and the phrases separated by two points; the first line being Διαῤῥήξω μὲν τοὺς δεσμούς, etc. This is the text of the Psalms, according to the usage of the Greek scribes, to write the passages taken from the Scriptures in larger letters than were employed for the commentaries on them, as shewn by the present manuscript, which contains a *Catena* of the Greek Fathers on the Psalms; and the third specimen in the Plate, although in a hand similar to that of the second example, is smaller, being a passage quoted from the writings of Origen. The most illustrious writers of the Greek Church, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius, and others, have contributed to this voluminous compilation.

In the lower part of the Plate are specimens of ornamental Greek capitals, formed of animals, birds, fruits, flowers, pearls, &c., more or less gracefully combined. The arts in the tenth century were not yet crushed beneath the yoke of barbarism, in the capital of the Greek empire; and this is the date of the manuscript, which was purchased at Constantinople*.

PLATE LXXVIII.

MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

THE FOUR GOSPELS OF CARDINAL MAZARINE.

It has been already observed, on the authority of the most learned palæographers, that the fine capital letters of the Greek alphabet, at first modified into uncials, subsequently underwent a greater change, owing to the too inventive genius of the tachygraphers, who practised a much abridged kind of writing, which being imitated by the calligraphers, led to the introduction of a cursive kind of writing, very different from that of the ancients. The scription of the capital and uncial letters required much time, it being necessary to form each stroke separately; a quicker method to produce a greater quantity of writing in the same space of time would therefore

* A manuscript of precisely similar execution, and apparently, by the same hand, but without miniatures, was formerly in Meerman's library, No. 231 (Cat. tom. iv. p. 36) and at his sale, in 1824, passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middlehall, Worcestershire. It contains the Greek veterinary treatises of Apsyrtus, Pelagonius, and Hierocles.—Ed.

readily be preferred, and the calligraphers used their endeavours to associate fine forms with a more expeditious execution; hence the renunciation of the uncial, and the adoption of the conjoined minuscule characters, which was effected in Greek writing subsequent to the ninth century.

The Benedictines observe, that *after* the ninth century the practice of using uncials for the titles of chapters, marginal annotations, &c., is still found in Greek manuscripts, but that no instance was known of a volume written in cursive or conjoined minuscules *previous* to that century. The correctness of hese observations is demonstrated by every manuscript bearing a certain date, and hence the period of the precious volume which has furnished the specimens in the accompanying Plate, must be later than the close of the ninth century.

Montfaucon places this manuscript among those which are most worthy of notice, notwithstanding its small 8vo size; especially on account of the elegance of the writing. The fac-simile, however, from it, published in the *Palæographia Græca*, and taken from the twenty-sixth page, is very unfaithful, as may be seen by comparing it with the fac-simile in the present work.

The volume commences with a table of the chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, written in gold, followed by a miniature of the evangelist, standing, painted on a golden background; the Eusebian canons follow, also written in gold, and ornamented with paintings; succeeded by the text of the Gospel of St. Matthew, some of the pages of which have been supplied by a hand of the twelfth century. The numerical indications in the margin, the running titles at the top of the page, the initials of the chapters and their divisions, written in capital or uncial letters, are also in gold; as is the case with the other Gospels, and a figure of an Evangelist precedes each Gospel.

A paschal canon is prefixed to the Gospel of St. Luke, but did not originally belong to the manuscript, having been inserted by a hand of the twelfth century. The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpian follows this canon, but it is of the same age as the text, and written in gold semi-uncials, on three pages, surrounded by a border formed of segments of circles united. Lastly, the title of the table of each Gospel is written in the centre of a square figure, surmounted by a dome in the Byzantine style, supported by four columns.

Montfaucon has remarked, that the last folio of this manuscript bears the following note, Ἐγράφθη Νικηφόρου βασιλεύοντος, ἰνδ. Ζ. This note is not so ancient as the manuscript itself, and indicates that it was written during the reign of Nicephorus, in the seventh indiction. A Latin note, in a much later hand, adds, that this Nicephorus reigned in A.D. 800, during the time of Charlemagne. But the manuscript is posterior to the first Nicephorus, who reigned from A.D. 802 to 811, and the indiction 7 does not apply to any of the years of his reign; so that the Latin note is erroneous. The Greek note, on the contrary, is applicable, without any difficulty, to Nicephorus II., surnamed Phocas, who reigned from A.D. 963 to 969, and the indiction 7 is that of the year 964, which is therefore the date of the volume. It is in fact to the tenth century that it has been unanimously assigned*.

This Plate gives a faithful representation of the figure of St. Mark and of the first page of his Gospel, and will afford some idea of the richness and beauty of the original. On each side of the figure is inscribed the name of the Evangelist, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΑΡΚΟC, in small capitals, accompanied by accents of the antique form. The title of the Gospel, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ is written in floreated capitals, mingled with

* Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græca*, pp. 280, 281. *Catal. des manuscrits Grecs de la Bibl. du Roi*, No. 70 (formerly 3424).

uncials, placed within an ornamental frame; and the text is written in beautiful round conjoined minuscules, with spirits and accents of the modern forms; the words not divided, but the phrases punctuated, so that the reading of the text presents no difficulty.

PLATE LXXIX.

GREEK CURSIVE WRITING.

XTH CENTURY.

THE FLORENCE PLUTARCH.

It is essentially necessary in the study of Greek manuscripts to distinguish the work of a *tachygrapher* from that of *calligrapher*. The former invented an expeditious, cursive style, of easy and rapid execution, owing to the rounded form of its letters, which are better fitted for the movement of the hand, and for the conjunction of the letters, which facilitate this movement. The calligrapher, on the contrary, was bound to reproduce the finely-formed capitals and uncial letters, and lost much time in forming each stroke separately, and in isolating each letter.

The former usage, amongst the Greeks, reaches further back than the fourth century, having been employed for *letters* and *diplomas* in the imperial chancery; and for other similar public and private documents.

The calligraphers continued to write *manuscripts* (properly so called) in the *capital* or *uncial* characters, which were the only ones they employed, until the eighth or ninth century*.

* *Palæographia Græca*, pp. 35, 36, 262, 263, 268, &c.

At this period, however, they were obliged to write more rapidly in consequence of the greater demand for their productions, and they adopted therefore the practice of the tachygraphers. This took place, according to Montfaucon, in the ninth century, or a short time previous; and he founds his opinion, firstly, on the great number of Greek manuscripts in elongated and sloping *uncial* characters, which were written between the fourth century and the reign of the Emperor Basilius the Macedonian, not one of which, bearing a date, is posterior to that reign; and secondly, because none of the manuscripts written in *cursive* letters, which are dated, ascend higher than the ninth century.

We may hence lay down the two following rules: 1. A Greek manuscript in *capitals* or *uncials* cannot be posterior to the ninth century, with the exception only of service-books of the Church, which required to be read at a distance, and the text of which is often accompanied by musical notes; 2. A Greek manuscript written in *cursive* letters is not anterior to the ninth century.

The fac-simile in the Plate affords an excellent example of the cursive writing introduced at that period by the calligraphers, without adopting, however, all the multiplied forms of letters and intricate ligatures used by the tachygraphers; a circumstance, indeed, fortunate for the literature of Greece, since the inextricable scription of the latter (as used in diplomas) would have rendered the manuscripts illegible except to a few. They therefore modified the character, without changing it; rendering it more expeditious by the introduction of some new forms and ligatures, combined with the old uncial forms; and consequently a manuscript in cursive writing is to be regarded as more ancient, in proportion as the tachygraphic forms are less abundant, of which the fac-simile before us appears to furnish a proof.

We here see a real *mélange* of the ancient uncials, formed

separately, united with new letters, conjoined together. The Ε, H, N, and Δ, preserve their ordinary uncial form; the Ε and Δ sometimes, however, occur of the cursive form; most of the letters are, in fact, isolated,—the interminable ligatures of the cursive method not being yet wholly adopted by the scribe, whose style is between the old and new;—and hence the manuscript must be considered as approaching closer to the ninth and previous centuries. Its punctuation is remarkable, consisting of a comma, a single dot, and two dots, which equal a full stop.

The manuscript itself (the form and size of which are represented in the Plate) was formerly in the library of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary at Florence, but is now in the Laurentian library. Its date cannot be less ancient than the tenth century. It contains a portion of the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, by Plutarch*, and the fac-simile is taken from the life of Marcellus, the commencement of which is to be read thus: — ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟC†. Μάρκον δὲ Κλαύδιον τὸν πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων. Μάρκου δὲ υἱὸν γένεσθαι λέγουσιν. κληθήναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς οἰκίας πρῶτον Μάρκελλον.

* A similar volume completed the work, but it was lost in 1455, when it was lent to Cardinal Bessarion. [It possibly exists among the Cardinal's MSS. in the Library of St. Mark at Florence, and may be No. 386 of Zanetti's Catalogue.—Ed.]

† This word is written in fine uncial letters. The capital M, which follows, is not altogether destitute of taste.

PLATE LXXX.

UNCIAL AND CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM IN LETTERS OF GOLD, AT FLORENCE.

THE beautiful vellum manuscript, which has furnished the subject of this Plate, is another proof of the prosperity, both of the arts and of the Christian Church, at Constantinople in the eleventh century; this being the place and time of its execution, as may be learned from several known circumstances, as well as from the fine graphic execution of the titles, which are in tall, finished, massive, well-proportioned, but plain uncial letters, and also from the cursive character of the text, the letters of which are round, massive, conjoined, and continuous, accompanied by spirits of the ancient form (⊢ and ⊣, instead of the ‘ and ’, which were soon afterwards adopted), and by the accents required in correct Greek orthography. Certain other signs are notes for regulating the tone of the reader of the Gospel lessons, when read aloud. This is a remarkable and rare singularity in Greek manuscripts*. The large capital initial Τ, ornamented with Mosaic work and floreated, is one of the most elegant compositions of its kind.

The history of this magnificent volume is well known, as well in regard to the date when it was written, as to that of its pictorial embellishments, the names of the pious perso-

* By no means. These tones for reading occur constantly in the manuscripts destined for the use of the Church, and several examples have already been noticed. See Plate LXXIII.—ED.

nages at whose expense it was thus enriched, and the places where they were executed; so that it forms one of the most interesting as well as most useful volumes, in the science of palæography, which, as a science, must be founded upon such precise details. We have here a Greek text of the eleventh century, written at Constantinople; two Greek notes of the fourteenth century, written at Trebisond; five large Byzantine miniatures, of the same century, executed also at Trebisond; another miniature, executed in Italy in the sixteenth century; and lastly, a Latin letter of the same period. These various palæographical documents are the results of the singular destiny of the manuscript at different times.

Executed with the greatest luxury at Constantinople, in the eleventh century, it was sent to Trebisond, about the end of the following century, during the short reign of Andronicus Comnenus (1183—1185), by Michael Callicrinites, prefect of the imperial chamber, and was consecrated by the Archbishop Barnabas in the church of St. Maria Chrysocephale (with the golden head). In the fourteenth century—A.D. 1331 or 6389, according to the Greeks,—a most honorable personage (as stated in the Greek note), the Arab physician of the puissant and holy Emperor*, who was named Cotzalulo, caused the manuscript to be enriched with elegant ornaments, meaning thereby the five large miniatures inserted in the text.

In the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Alexius Caeladonius, Bishop of Amalfi†, who presented it to Pope Julius II., as we learn by the letter still preserved and

* Probably Andronicus II., Palæologus, styled *the Old*, who had then become a monk, and was succeeded by Andronicus III., the reigning Emperor.

† This is an error. Caeladonius was a learned Greek of noble birth, and was promoted by Pope Julius II., in 1508, from the bishopric of Gallipoli to that of *Melfi*, in the province of Basilicata, Naples. *Amalfi* is an archbishopric in the Principato Citeriore. See Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, tom. i. c. 916.—Ed.

inserted at the beginning of the volume, and by the sixth large miniature, executed by order of the bishop; the subject of which evidently represents the homage and dedication of the volume to the holy father, accompanied with genealogies and emblems, and with the Latin inscription, *Pulsis Gallis, Italia liberata,* in allusion to the ephemeral victories of Julius, in 1511; who in revenge for his subsequent defeats, excommunicated the King of France in the year following, laying the kingdom under interdict, and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and died in the following February, 1513.

This rich and splendid volume now belongs to the Laurentian library at Florence*.

The first line of the title is to be read, ΤΗ ΑΓΙΑ Κ(ΥΡΙΑΚΗ) ΤΗC Ν † (. . . . .) *The holy Sunday of* (*Pentecost.*)

The second line, ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΕΝ)—*From the Gospel according to St. John.*

The minuscule text, Τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρα τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἱστήκει ὁ Ις̄(Ἰησοῦς,) καὶ ἔκραξε, λέγων, Ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Ὁπιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ, etc. This passage is taken from the seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. John, verses 37 and 38.

* No. 244 (not 163, as marked on the Plate). See the Supplement to Bandini, intitled *Bibliotheca Leopoldina-Laurentiana,* fol. Flor. 1793, tom. iii., col. 488–501.—Ed.

† This letter is the usual abbreviation used in Evangeliaria for Πεντηχοστῆς, which it is surprising the French editors should be ignorant of.—Ed.

PLATES LXXXI., LXXXII.

MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

HOMILIES AND OFFICES OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE two Plates which accompany this notice complete the series of Greek writings of the eleventh century, and present us with one of those humble subscriptions bearing a date, by which the religious monks of Greece declared themselves the scribes of the volumes, as a pious work, which, either by their own will, or by the desire of their superiors, they had copied.

The first of these two Plates is copied from the manuscript marked No. 519, (*Ancien fonds Grec*) of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. It is in folio, written on vellum, and belonged formerly to Colbert, the celebrated minister of Louis XIV., who imitated the luxurious taste of his sovereign, not only in his splendid furniture, but in the number, rarity, and value of his books and manuscripts, amongst which the present volume bore the No. 695. It contains the works of the illustrious Greek writer St. Gregory Nazianzen, a native of Cappadocia, educated in the schools of Palestine and Egypt, and successor to his father in the bishopric of Nazianzum, who was afterwards archbishop of Constantinople, and died in retirement about the end of the fourth century.

The acknowledged superiority of his numerous works has given them a reputation which is still preserved, and they were multiplied by scribes in every age. The majority of these copies are terminated by a note or subscription, indi-

cating the name of the scribe and the date when the manuscript was begun and ended; information of the highest value in a palæographic point of view.

At the end of the present volume is the following subscription, in six lines, (copied at the foot of the second column of the first Plate,) and having several abbreviations:—Εὔχεσθε Εὐθυμίῳ τῷ εὐτέλει μοναχῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Λαζάρου· + ἐτελειώθη μηνὶ μαΐῳ ινδ. ε. ἔτους ϛφιε, &c., signifying, "*Pray for Euthymius, a poor monk, priest of the monastery of St. Lazarus; finished in the month of May, indiction* 5, *in the year* 6515," which date corresponds with May, A.D. 1007, reckoned either according to the civil or the ecclesiastical year of the Greeks.

The fac-simile therefore represents an unquestionable specimen of Greek writing of the beginning of the eleventh century, in square minuscules, partly with ligatures, and partly continuous; having accents, spirits, and punctuation by the first hand, and most probably written in the monastery of St. Lazarus, at Constantinople, whence other Greek manuscripts have issued, now preserved in the libraries of Western Europe.

The fac-simile is copied from the homily of St. Gregory Nazianzen on St. Cyprian, the martyr, as indicated in the rubricated title; the initial Μ being ornamented in the same floreated style as the frame inclosing the title.

The second Plate exhibits a fine example of large minuscule, massive, round, Greek writing, with ligatures, and partly continuous, written in a fine hand in long lines, taken from a 4to. volume, on vellum, containing the Offices of the Greek Church, intended to be read aloud by the clergy, on which account it was necessary to employ so large a character. It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 331. Montfaucon published a specimen from a manuscript written in the same style, which belonged in 1708 to the Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) Dominico Passionei, but judging from his fac-simile, the volume before

us is written in a firmer and more elegant hand, and with greater regularity in its capital or uncial initials, which are in red or gold, as well as the titles of the chapters. This manuscript is also of the eleventh century, and the catalogue, printed in 1740, states that it had recently been obtained at Constantinople.

PLATE LXXXIII.

CAPITAL AND CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

XIITH CENTURY.

HOMILIES OF ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

THE manuscript from whence the accompanying fac-simile is copied belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 543, and is remarkable for the variety of its ornaments, its beautiful and large miniatures, finely painted and heightened with gold, its splendid headings and titles, also in gold, and its fine cursive writing, executed with unusual care.

The title given at the head of the fac-simile, as well as the line at the foot of the Plate, are in tall, close, conjoined, majuscule Greek letters, occasionally inclosed in each other, and mingled with uncials and minuscules, all of which are written in gold.

With the Greeks the custom of writing in gold was more common than with the Latins; indeed, there are but few Greek manuscripts, especially of the liturgical class, in which the titles, particular passages, and even entire pages, are not executed in gold, either by means of a pen with golden ink, or with a brush and gold leaf.

From the testimony of some writers, it would appear,

that the custom was so general, as to constitute a distinct class of scribes for the purpose, called *chrysographers;* and one of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1991, makes mention of a monk named Symeon, who was also a chrysographer. The art itself was termed *chrysography,* and the processes adopted are partially recorded in some Greek writers, mixed up, it is true, with precepts which relate more to the art of making gold itself.

Such is the work of Theodorus Pelecanus, of Corfu, written in barbarous Greek in the fifteenth century, in which are given two receipts for writing in gold, and a third for gilding a plain surface. These receipts have been published by Montfaucon, who stated that they had been tried by one of his Benedictine brethren with success*.

This art, however, although so much practised by the Greeks, has long been, if not absolutely lost, so much fallen into disuse, that we can no longer imitate the splendor and finish of the ancient writings in gold. It is true that taste has changed, and is now satisfied with the fine productions of typography and engraving, yet some attempts have indeed been made to revive the art, and in the reign of Louis XV. Michael Soquet presented a petition to the king, written in letters of gold, praying for encouragement, on account of having rediscovered the lost art of the ancients.

On this account the specimens of ancient art which have survived to our times, have become the more precious, and the manuscript before us is particularly worthy of notice in this respect. The title, when written at length, is to be read as follows :—

+ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙC ΠΑΤΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩC ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ. ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΛΟΓΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΕΞΙCΩΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝ.

* *Palæographia Græca,* pp. 5, 6, 7.

+ *Oration of our holy Father Gregory, Archbishop of Constantinople, [surnamed] the Theologian, upon his discourses, and upon Julian, the exactor of tributes.*

The bottom line of the page is to be read ΜΗΝΙ ΔΕΚΕΒΡΙΩ ΚΔ (*month of December the* 24.), and in the margin are the three letters ΛΟ. Ζ (ΛΟΓΟΣ Ζ) which indicate the seventh homily of St. Gregory*. The manuscript contains sixteen discourses of this Father, the arguments of which are placed at the commencement of the volume.

The text is written in cursive, conjoined Greek letters, accompanied by accents and spirits; a golden capital commencing each principal division.

The portion copied in the Plate contains the beginning of three paragraphs, the first lines of each of which are to be read, Τις ἡ τυραννὶς ἣν ἐξ ἀγάπης—Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν εὑρίσκω —Ἐβουλήθην† ἐν καιρῷ μέν. The manuscript is of the twelfth century, as indicated by the fine execution of the titles in capitals, and the regularity and form of its cursive text. It was presented to Louis XIV. by Chrysanthus Notaras, of Peloponnesus, who was nominated patriarch of Jerusalem in 1707, during his visit to Paris; by whom also an elementary work on Geography, in modern Greek, was written and printed at Paris, in 1715, as well as two letters in French, printed at Tripoli, in Syria, in 1733.

* It is the ninth oration, in the Paris edition, 1609-1611, vol. i., fol., p. 149.

† The French editors read incorrectly, (Ἐμοῦ) Λήθην.—Ed.

PLATE LXXXIV.

MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM GIVEN TO ST. LOUIS BY THE EMPEROR MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS.

THE exquisite graphic execution of the manuscript, whence the present fac-simile is copied, the fourteen miniatures with which it is illuminated, the numerous titles written in letters of gold, and the historic circumstances connected with it, combine to render it an object of great interest. It is a volume in small 4to, written on fine white vellum, ruled with a hard point; with marginal notes written in gold.

The four Evangelists are represented in a standing or seated attitude, on a golden ground, at the commencement of their respective gospels; and the portraits (full-faced busts) of the Apostles James, Peter, John, Jude, and Paul, precede the text of their several Epistles. The portrait of St. Jude, inscribed, Ο ΑΠ(ΟCΤΟΛΟC) ΙΟΥΔ(Α), represented in the Plate, will give a sufficient idea of the style of these miniatures; the head being surrounded by a Christian nimbus, and the right hand holding a book.

After two fly-leaves, on which are written some extracts from the writings of St. Severus of Antioch, we find the following inscription written in large rude characters on the margin of the verso of the following leaf, which is occupied by a portrait of St. Matthew.

Μιχαὴλ ἐν Χ$\bar{ω}$ (Χριστῷ) τῶ Θ$\bar{ω}$ (Θεῷ) πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαί(ων) Δούκας Ἄγγελος Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαίολογος +.

It is believed that these words are in the autograph of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, who was crowned in A.D. 1260, and who styles himself "Michael, in Christ God, the faithful King and Emperor of the Romans, Ducas, Angelus, Comnenus, Palæologus." To these he occasionally added that of the "new Constantine," and the "always August."*

History has recorded the persevering efforts of this sovereign to re-unite the two churches, and hence his unceasing desire to keep up friendly relations with the princes of the Latin Church. The enlightened piety of St. Louis excited his confidence, as proved by the manuscript before us.

On the lower margin of the verso of the second fly-leaf, we meet with the following Latin note, written in a hand of the thirteenth century, announcing the presence in France of the Khan of the Tartars, in 1269:—"El Cham Alahu, imperator Tartarorum, ejus filius el Cham Apaga, qui duxit filiam Mikaelis, et baptizatus est, et multi alii:" On the blank spaces of the following page, we read also the following words by the same hand, which appear to form part of the same note:—"Joh. Porastrus . . . . . cum Romana. Anno Domini 1269†, itemque in estate istius anni fuerunt ad dominum regem, et in hieme sequente‡ venit alius nuncius ab eodem Mikaele ad eundum (*sic*) regem." And at the foot of the same page, in the same Latin hand, "Michael in Christo Deo fidelis imperator et moderator Romeorum, Ducas, Angelus, Comninus (*for* Comnenus), Paleologus, et novus Constantinus, semper Augustus, serenissimo Domino Ludow . . . . illustrissimo regi Francie, salt. (*salutem*) . . . . . tatem, et del(*ectionem et*) augmentum. . . . §

* See the Greek manuscript, No. 1115, in the Bibliothèque Royale, dated in 1276, and Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, pp. 65, 66.

† St. Louis commenced the year at Easter.

‡ The winter of 1270, reckoning the year from the 1st of January.

§ The leaf is here torn. Formerly was also read, *Hic Rex Francie recepit.* . . . . See Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin*, p. 251.

The date of 1269 clearly indicates, that St. Louis was the king of France designated, and that it was the Emperor Michael Palæologus, by whom the volume was presented to him.

The volume did not, however, remain in the library of St. Louis, for we find on the first leaf the signature of *D. Prez Savigny*, made in the sixteenth century. In 1640 it was in the possession of the Jesuit establishment at Caen, and it thence passed at a later period into the libraries of the Chancellor Seguier, and of the Duc de Coislin, and afterwards into that of St. Germain des Près. It is now in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris, No. 200, as described by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana.* All these circumstances fix the age of the manuscript to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The left-hand page of the fac-simile commences with the words, Εἶπεν. διδάσκαλε. ἤνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σε ἔχοντα πν̄α(πνεῦμα) ἄλαλον, etc., from the Gospel of St. Mark, ch. ix., v. 17, of our editions, or the 90th verse of the manuscript, in which the Gospel is not divided into chapters.

Beneath the portrait of St. Jude, on the right hand page, is written in letters of gold, Ἰούδα ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ ᾱ, being the title of the Epistle of St. Jude, which in the manuscript is followed by the Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς, in three pages, and by the Epistles of St. Paul, which, contrary to the order of our editions, occupy the end of the volume, (pages 210 to 300.)

PLATE LXXXV.

CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

GREEK LEXICON OF HESYCHIUS, BELONGING TO THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA.

THE fac-simile in this Plate will afford an idea of the forms of the Lexicons or Dictionaries composed by ancient Greek authors; a species of composition which, notwithstanding its utility, has only been brought to perfection by the moderns.

Hesychius, respecting whom little is known with certainty, is supposed to have lived in the third century of our era, to have been a native of Egypt, and to have professed Christianity. The precise time when he lived is rendered the more doubtful, from the ease with which interpolations and additions have been made to his Lexicon; to such an extent, indeed, that one of the most learned men of the last century did not venture to affirm—beyond this, that the Lexicon of Hesychius *existed* in the work attributed to him. He is regarded, however, as one of the grammarians of the school of Alexandria.

This Greek Lexicon is, in fact, a collection of words, but not a dictionary according to the modern acceptation of the term. It is true, that in the age of Hesychius, several lexicographers had become known, but the greater part had done nothing more then arrange alphabetical lists of the words used by Homer, so as to form a Homeric Lexicon, rather than a dictionary of the Greek language. In these nomen-

clatures, moreover, the first syllables of the word, and not the first letter, and those which followed it, were taken into consideration; and the words were given in the inflection used by the writer, without any attempt to reduce them to their primitive form. There were other grammarians, indeed, who treated words in a more special manner; their various kinds, arrangement, synonyms, and differences; their alphabetic classification and dialects. Others, again, restricted themselves to the terms of medicine, philosophy, jurisprudence, and rhetoric, but in all these lexicons the Greek words were explained in Greek.

The Lexicon of Hesychius is, nevertheless, such as it exists, remarkably useful in respect to the study both of profane and sacred antiquity, the Holy Scriptures and the poets; and modern writers have united in paying homage to the erudition of the compiler. Formerly only a single copy of his work was known, belonging to the library of St. Mark, at Venice; but the one which supplied the fac-simile is preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna, being No. 8 among the Greek manuscripts. It is written upon cotton paper, in double columns, in a thick but elegant Greek minuscule character, without many ligatures, and accompanied by spirits and accents of the modern forms. It may be referred to the thirteenth century.

The first column contains the words of the Lexicon, of which the initial letter A is rubricated, and in the second column is their interpretation. Between the lines are written some Russo-Slavonic words, which may also be referred to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, according to the opinion of M. Kopitar, who suggests, that they may have been written by a Russian desirous to learn Greek.

Compared with the printed editions of the text of Hesychius, the manuscript before us appears to be only an

abridgment. The fac-simile commences with, Ἀγκαλίδα, explained by Μερίδα; Ἀγκαλίδας, explained by Δραγματα, etc.

Sometimes an entire phrase is employed to explain one of the Greek words.

PLATE LXXXVI.

MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

THE BOOKS OF THE ILIAD.

THERE is no necessity to mention the name of the author of the Iliad. Never was popularity more general, more durable, or more merited, than has been accorded in all ages to the works of the first of poets. His very perfections would almost lead us to believe that Homer was not the first of his time, and that his writings were not the earliest productions of Greek literature; for where else has the mind of man at once produced such a *chef d'œuvre* of eternal superiority? We need scarcely add, that we are not in the number of those who affirm that no poet existed of such a name; every human work pre-supposes an author; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* therefore must be attributed to Homer or to a deity—but the gods of Greece knew not how to write! It has been even said, that in the era of Homer the Greeks knew not the use of writing, although the poet himself relates, that one of his Greek heroes was sent from Argos to the King of Lycia, with carefully sealed tablets, on which was inscribed a message, which would have been fatal to him when read, had he not escaped by the protection of the gods.

The volume before us contains the *Iliad*, which was more generally read and transcribed than the *Odyssey*, although the latter may be preferred by those who wish to study the precepts of ancient philosophy, rather than the stirring exploits of heroes. The fac-simile represents the first page of the manuscript, as indicated by the words Ιλιάδος ά, the *first book* of the Iliad; the poem being divided, as usual, into twenty-four books, each bearing a Greek numeral at the commencement. This is a comparatively modern division, adopted long after the age of the poet, for in his time the Greek alphabet consisted of only twenty letters. The introduction of the additional letters, five or six centuries after the death of Homer, led to the division of the poem into twenty-four parts, and to a change in orthography conformable to the new Greek alphabet, in which state they have come down to our days.

Very few manuscripts of the Iliad of great antiquity are known ; and with the exception of some fragments of papyrus, discovered in Egypt, which may be as old as the commencement of the Christian era, they scarcely date further back than the eleventh century, the period of the Ambrosian manuscript at Milan*, which, indeed, only contains a prose abridgment, with miniatures. It must be added, however, that a manuscript in

* MM. Champollion here repeat the grave error of Montfaucon (*Diar. Ital.*, p. 17), who saw the manuscript very hastily, and spoke only of some *scholia*, written on cotton paper, and pasted over the ancient text of Homer, on vellum, which is executed in square uncials, not later than the fifth century, with spirits and accents by a coeval hand. These paper coverings (which are of the thirteenth century) were removed by Angelo Mai, who published the text, with a fac-simile and engravings of the miniatures, in a sumptuous folio volume, Milan, 1819, of the existence of which MM. Champollion ought not to have been ignorant. In addition to the Ambrosian fragments of the Iliad, must be mentioned two other remarkable manuscripts, both of which are in England. The first is the papyrus roll, belonging to Mr. W. J. Bankes, containing the last book of the Iliad, but wanting the first 126 lines. It is ascribed to the first century B.C. The second manuscript has been recently acquired by

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is affirmed to be as early as the seventh century*.

The manuscript before us belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and is ascribed to the fourteenth century. It is in conjoined minuscule writing, but many of the letters still retain the ancient uncial forms, not having assumed the more expeditious forms of the tachygraphers, whose writing at length came into general use. These uncial forms are seen in the H, Δ, E, Ω, C, Θ, Φ. The letters seldom have ligatures, and the abbreviations are few in number, except at the end of a line, where want of space rendered it necessary; the separation of the words is but little apparent, and the ϵ is in the form of *u*. From these peculiarities, the manuscript might be regarded of the thirteenth century, but the general opinion† is followed, in assigning it to the fourteenth.

the British Museum, and is a palimpsest, written on vellum. The upper text is Syriac, and probably of the ninth century, but the original writing beneath is in fine square Greek uncials, with accents and spirits, and contains about 4000 lines of the Iliad, written not later than the sixth century.—Ed.

* This, again, is the repetition of a silly blunder, put forth by Abp. Parker, Josh. Barnes, *Præf. ad Hom.*, i. p. 3, and others. The manuscript is on paper, and as late as the fifteenth century. See Nasmyth's Catalogue, No. lxxxi.—Ed.

† And no doubt the correct one.—Ed.

PLATE LXXXVII.

MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS, IN THE COLBERT COLLECTION.

THE manuscript here represented has been frequently consulted by learned persons engaged on the text of the important work of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, since its margins are filled with scholia, which have been deemed of value by scholars, although the manuscript is not older than the fourteenth century. It formerly belonged to Colbert, and bore the No. 832 in his library; it is now No. 1634 of the Bibliothèque Royale. Montfaucon mentioned it, on account of its date, in his *Palæographia Græca* (p. 72), and styles it *bombycinus*, or of paper made from cotton. The compilers of the catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale merely described it as *chartaceus*, or of paper made from rags, used in the west of Europe; the truth, however, is, that it is upon coarse, thick rag-paper, which gives a great weight to the volume. The material of the manuscript, if vellum, would merit some notice, for at the period of its execution, much less of that material was made than in former times, and the custom of scraping off the ancient writing to make room for new, was then greatly in vogue. Montfaucon says, that it was in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, that this custom was introduced and extended, and the number of manuscripts thus re-written was so great, that but very few vellum manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on being carefully examined, are found, which

have not been re-written*. To this cause is attributed by the same authority, the destruction of great numbers of Greek works, which existed in the time of Photius, and even after the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.† Bombycine manuscripts were not, however, subjected to this treatment, and Montfaucon stated that he had seen only a single volume on cotton paper which had been re-written.

The manuscript before us, although on paper, yet is interesting on account of the date affixed to it at the end by the original scribe, of which the following is a translation—"The present book was written at Astrum‡, by the hands of me, the poor Constantine, a priest and archivist (χαρτοφύλακος) at Pissa§, employed among the Imperial clergy, in the month of July, indiction X, in the year 6880 (A.D. 1372)." The manuscript therefore belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century. It contains the *Nine Muses*, or historical books of Herodotus. The first word of the fac-simile, Ἐρατώ, indicates the sixth of these books, which bears the name of Erato, the muse of lyric poetry, and the next line is the title of the book, Ἡροδότου ἱστοριῶν ἕκτη (*the sixth book of the Histories of Herodotus*), in characters somewhat larger than the text.

The text itself is in square, broad, elegant, isolated minuscule letters, with only a few ligatures, but with some peculiar forms; thus ε is formed of an upright line, with a

* The French editors have not rendered Montfaucon's words (*Pal. Gr.* p. 319) quite correctly, since he says, not that *very few* manuscripts will be found which are *not re-written*, but that *not many less* (non multo pauciores) *re-written* manuscripts will be found, than those which are written for the first time. As far as my own experience goes, I should say that this statement is not borne out by facts.—Ed.

† Photius was appointed to the see of Constantinople A.D. 857, and died in 891. Constantine Porphyrogenitus reigned from A.D. 911 to 960. —Ed.

‡ A monastery in the Moræa.

§ A place in the environs of Pisa, the Ancient Olympia.

short horizontal bar in the middle; the η preserves the majuscule form of H; the syllables of a word are often separated, as ἀποσή σας in the first line; and the punctuation consists in the comma placed at the bottom of the letters, and a point at the top. The substitution of one vowel for another often occurs, and iotacisms are frequent, as in Σάρδεισ for Σάρδισ, μεμετημένος for μεμετιμένοσ. These errors indicate the age of the manuscript, and are common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The titles and ends of the books are rubricated, and are accompanied by a floreated ornament, destitute of elegance, in the same color.

The subscription of the scribe on the last page, is also written in red.

PLATE LXXXVIII.

GREEK WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

THE OFFICE OF THE MASS OF ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE, ACCORDING TO THE MELCHITE RITUAL.

THE manuscript from which this fac-simile has been copied, although not very ancient, differs from the modern shape of books, being a long roll of oriental paper, of the width represented in the Plate. The text is written within a margin on either side, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, which is filled with commentaries, generally in a language or character different from that of the text. This roll is *opisthographic*, that is to say, written on both sides, a term used by Lucian in a similar sense. Pliny the Elder alludes to this practice in speaking of the changes successively introduced at Rome in the fabrication

of papyrus. Rolls of papyrus, indeed, exist, bearing texts written in the hieratic Egyptian characters which are *opisthographs*, or written on both sides, and ten or fifteen centuries anterior to Pliny and Lucian. If Greek and Latin critics had known of the existence of such rolls, they would never have attributed to Julius Cæsar the introduction of a practice which is of so much higher antiquity.

The material on which the roll is written is thick and soft cotton paper. It consists of fifteen sheets, each being fifteen inches high, and joined together lengthways, with the surface polished on each side, according to the custom of the orientals.

The ninth century has been fixed upon as the period when cotton paper was first employed. Modern Latin writers term it *charta bombycina* or *bambycina*, cotton being named by the Greeks indifferently, βάμβαξ or βόμβυξ. By writers of antiquity the same terms were given to silk, but as applied to paper the equivoque is not admitted. Palæographical writers have observed also, that during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries the number of manuscripts written upon parchment was greater than upon cotton; whereas the contrary was the case in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries*.

The text is ingeniously arranged on the two sides of the roll. The commencement is found at the top of the *recto*, and the text is continued to the bottom of the roll, on turning which the succeeding line of the text at once presents itself; so that the termination on the *verso* corresponds with the commencement on the *recto*. From constant use the beginning and the end of the text, at the top of the roll, are worn off.

It contains the Greek mass of St. James the Apostle, according to the ritual of the Melchites, accompanied with long marginal comments in Greek and Arabic, the more ancient of the latter being the better written. It was brought

* Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, pp. 17—19.

from Syria to Rome in the year 1583, having been sent by the Archbishop of Otranto, by the hands of Pachomius, a Melchite monk*.

The origin of this term given to a Christian sect extends back to the fifth century, and belongs to the history of the Egyptian Church. St. Mark was its first patriarch, and his twenty-fourth successor, Dioscorus, adopted the Eutychian heresy, which was condemned by a synod held at Constantinople, afterwards restored by the second council of Ephesus, and finally anathematized in the general council held at Chalcedon, in A.D. 451. The decrees of this council were published in Egypt, and commanded to be adopted, under pain of death; and as the orthodox Greeks exercised great cruelties upon the unfortunate Coptic-Egyptians, whom they regarded as heretics, the latter applied the name of *Melchites*, or Imperials, to their persecutors, as partizans of the Emperor, who supported the canons of the Council†. The manuscript roll contains therefore the office of St. James, according to the form of the orthodox Greek Church.

It is written in thick, round, inelegant, cursive Greek minuscules, the letters inclining indifferently to the left or right, with spirits and accents of the modern form; the letters being conjoined; abounding with abbreviations, and punctuated. The divisions of the text have the titles in large uncial letters, mixed with minuscules, destitute of regularity and elegance, written in vermilion, as are also the large initial letters, some of the more elegant of which are represented at the foot of the Plate.

The two lines of the rubric are to be read, + ΕΥΧΗ ΠΙΣ-ΤΩΝ $\overline{\text{Α}}$ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΑΠΑΩΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΙΛΗΤΟΝ+, being the first prayer of the faithful, after unrolling the manuscript.

* It is now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.—Ed.

† J. M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie,* 8vo. Par. 1677. Joh. Morini, *Antiq. Eccles. Orientalis,* 8vo., 1682.

The prayer itself begins with the words, Ευχαριστεμεν σοὶ, etc.

All the characters of this roll fix its age to the fourteenth century.

PLATE LXXXIX.

UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE GREEK WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

CATENA UPON GENESIS AND EXODUS.

THE term *Catena Patrum*, or simply *Catena*, is applied to the series or chain of commentaries written by the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church upon the text of the Scriptures, either arranged with the names of their authors, or in the order of the verses, chapters, and books, to which they relate, or merely following each other, without division, in the order in which they were composed.

The manuscript now under notice is a work of this nature, the mere text of which offers but little interest, having been often transcribed, as well as printed.

It is written upon paper, with the edges gilt and figured, and is copied by a skilful scribe from more ancient manuscripts, and bears the No. 1889 in the old, and No. 130 in the new catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale. It contains the *Catena* of the Commentaries on Genesis, and on the first twelve chapters of Exodus (ending with the ten plagues), and its text is precisely similar to that contained in the manuscript numbered 128 (formerly No. 1825), which is more than 200 years older.

This manuscript is considered as the autograph of a Greek scribe, named Gregoropulus, who lived at the period of the

renaissance. Montfaucon, in his *Palæographia Græca,* mentions two scribes of this name—George, who transcribed the Paris manuscript, No. 1805, in the fifteenth century, and Manuel, the writer of the manuscript No. 1884, in the year 1503. It is uncertain to which of these writers the present volume is to be attributed, but other manuscripts exist written by the same hand (Nos. 148 and 132, Bibliothèque Royale), all of which may also be ascribed to the latter half of the fifteenth century; a period when Italy and France exhibited so much honorable hospitality to the few remaining scholars of Greece.

This volume formed part of the royal library at Fontainebleau. Its binding is of the time of Francis I., and it bears the arms and cypher of this king, by whom the library was founded, and to which he added that of Blois, including the Greek manuscripts brought from Naples to Blois by the celebrated Lascaris. About sixty others were procured for the king by Girolamo Fondulo*, and others were sent as presents by learned Greeks; of all which a catalogue was made in 1544, by Angelus Vergecius, (another celebrated Greek scribe,) which still exists, and which contains a notice of 540 volumes. Some of these were bound in the reign of Henry II., by order of Pierre Chastelain. The ability of the scribe Gregoropulus will be seen by the specimen given in the Plate.

The rectangular frame-work at the head of the text is ornamented with a white arabesque on a red ground, and in the five circles are inserted in tall ornamental uncial capitals, ΦΩC $\overline{\text{XY}}$ ΦΑΙ$\overline{\text{N}}$ ΠΑ CI, that is, Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνεται πᾶσι, (*the light of Christ appears to all.*) The title of the work is in the open space of the frame-work, written in similar letters, which are

* A native of Cremona, skilled both in the Greek and Latin languages. He was secretary to Cardinal Salviati, and Francis I. invited him to Paris to preside over the education of the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II.—See Arisius, *Cremona Literata,* tom. ii., p. 139. Parm. 1705, fol.—Ed.

moreover more or less conjoined, enclosed within each other, and floreated. This title is to be read thus, without abbreviations, ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ* ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΕCΕΩC, etc. (*Commentary on the Book of Genesis.*)

The line following is the first sentence of the Greek Bible, in semi-uncial, mingled with cursive, letters, commencing with a capital floreated Ε. The remainder of the text is in a small round, and occasionally tall, minuscule, slightly conjoined; the words punctuated, with spirits and accents of the ordinary form. The rubricated letters at the foot of the Plate are ornamental initials copied from other pages of this fine volume.

PLATE XC.

CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

MIDDLE OF THE XVTH CENTURY.

ARISTOTLE AND DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, IN THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY.

This manuscript, in addition to its elegance and regularity, is of importance, from bearing the date of its execution. It belongs to the rich Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, and is written on vellum, of a 4to size. It contains the Greek text of the books of the *Morals* of Aristotle, and the *Treatise on Elocution* by Demetrius Phalereus, and consists of 205 leaves.

Upon the 118th leaf, at the end of the work of Aristotle, we read three heroic verses in Greek, thus translated into Latin :—

* This word is omitted in the French text, probably on account of the difficulty in reading it.—Ed.

Magnis Aristotelis moralibus pulchrique bonique
Hùc usque finem imposuit Demetrius
Sguropolus, qui hæc Francisco scripsit Philelpho.*

These lines are followed by a chronological note, stating that the volume was written at Milan, on the 1st July, A.D. 1444. We thus learn the name of the scribe, the precise date of the volume, and the name of the personage for whom the modern Greek copied the works of his two ancient fellow-countrymen.

The increasing inroads of the Ottoman Sultans upon Constantinople after the close of the fourteenth century, put to flight the few remaining learned Greeks, who were hospitably received by the other countries of Europe, especially Italy, where from the geniality of its climate many of them became domiciled, and where their works were collected with assiduity, and fresh copies of the most important ancient Greek authors were multiplied by these Greek refugees.

The present manuscript was one of the copies so made, and was written at Milan in 1444 (the year in which the cruel victory was gained at Varna by the Sultan Amurath II.) by Demetrius Sgyropulus.

Montfaucon has recorded in several pages of his *Palæographia Græca* the names ot the Greek scribes found in numerous manuscripts from the third to the seventeenth centuries inclusive, amongst whom Demetrius Sgyropulus is mentioned as the scribe of the present volume, and also *probably* of a copy of the Geography of Ptolemy, written at Florence in 1445, belonging to the Laurentian library; which was certainly the case, as Bandini states, that the three Greek verses above mentioned occur also at the end of the Geography. The present volume was executed for Francesco Philelfo, known in his own day for his excessive scientific

* *Bandini Catalogus*, etc , tom. iii., col. 227.

vanity, and in ours by his numerous works. His arms are carefully depicted in the frontispiece of the manuscript.

The page represented in the fac-simile is the first of the Treatise on Elocution, by Demetrius Phalereus, a writer of the fourth century B.C., and contemporary with the first of the Ptolemies, successor of Alexander the Great. This Treatise has also been ascribed by certain critics to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and to a certain Demetrius of Alexandria, who lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The title is executed in fine uncial Greek letters, the majority conjoined, floreated, of unequal size, mixed with abbreviations, and occasionally placed over each other. It is as follows :—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩϹ
ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑϹ Ο ΕϹΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΡΑϹΕΩϹ.

The fifth letter of the top line merits attention, being Τ and Ρ elegantly conjoined, as also the conjunction of the Ο and Υ, etc.

The text commences with a zoomorphic letter, formed of two winged dragons, united by the tails, the open space being ornamented with elegant arabesques, composed of leaves and flowers ; it is an Ω, surmounted by the hard mark of aspiration, of the antique form, and the acute accent. The remainder of the text is entirely modern, both in the forms of the conjoined cursive letters, and orthographic signs. The commencement is to be read thus :—Ὥσπερ ἡ ποίησις διαιρεῖται τοῖς μέτροις. οἷον ἡμιμέτροις, ἢ ἑξαμέτροις, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τὴν λογικὴν διαιρεῖ, etc.

PLATE XCI.

CURSIVE GREEK AND MINUSCULE LATIN WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

HE GOSPELS IN GREEK AND LATIN.

THE manuscript which has furnished the fac-simile before us, is less remarkable for its age than for the miniatures with which it is enriched, twenty-six in number, in which numerous figures are introduced illustrative of various subjects taken from the text. The full length figures in the Greek style are carefully drawn, with great attention to costume, and the whole are painted on golden backgrounds. Six of these miniatures remain unfinished, and shew us the mode of drawing adopted by the artist, who having sketched a slight outline of his figures, filled up the backgrounds with leaf-gold, leaving the space intended for the figures vacant, which were afterwards filled in with colors. The application of gold-leaf was the work, no doubt, of the illuminator, and not of the chrysographer, who merely wrote in gold.

It was in the fifteenth century that the Greeks, who had taken shelter in Italy, were placed in constant communication with the Latin Christians, which naturally led to a combination of the texts of the Gospels in the two languages, of which the present volume is an instance. In the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale (to which it now belongs) No. 54, it bears the title of *Medicæus*, and was doubtless written in Italy, having belonged to Catherine de' Medici*, whose library was united to that of the Royal Library in 1599, by order of the

* See a preceding article, Plate lxxi.

King, and care of the President De Thou, at the cost of 5,400 crowns, comprising 800 volumes, of which an inventory was drawn up at the time. The present volume was rebound by order of Henry IV., whose arms appear on it, and contains the four Gospels in Greek and Latin.

The fac-simile before us comprises the commencement of the Gospel of St. Mark. The Greek text is that of the Greek Church, and the Latin is that of the Vulgate; hence we find the name of the prophet Isaiah in the first verse of the Latin, but not in the Greek version.

The first Greek line is written in tall, finished, uncial capitals, mingled with cursive letters, and with abbreviations. It is to be read, + ΤΟ ΚΑΤα ΜάΡΚΟΝ ἁΓιον ΕΥα[γγελιον], + The text immediately follows, the first letter being an uncial capital, and the remainder in round, spaced, punctuated Greek cursive writing, with spirits and accents of the modern form. The whole text of the Gospel in both versions is written in red, but the passages introduced from the Old Testament are in blue. The marks in the margin are numerical letters, indicating the division of the text. The writing is that usually employed in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which the form of the β in βαπτίζων (line 13), βάπτισμα (line 15), and ἐβαπτίζοντο (line 20), is to be observed, being like a Roman *u*, united to the letter which follows.

The Latin text commences with the words, + *Se*C*un*D*u*M MA*r*C*um* EV*Angeliu*M S*anCtu*M+, written in irregularly shaped uncials; the remainder being in the massive, angular Capetian* minuscule.

The crosses at the beginning and end of the letters are of the forms prescribed by the two churches; the Greek cross being square, and the Latin having the horizontal line above the middle of the perpendicular stroke.

* This term is quite inapplicable to a Latin manuscript written in Italy in the fifteenth century.—Ed.

PLATE XCII.

CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

THE CYNEGETICS OF OPPIAN, WRITTEN BY ANGELUS VERGECIUS.

Few manuscripts afford information so complete in regard to their date, origin, and scribe, as the beautiful volume from which the present fac-simile is copied. It contains various works on hunting, commencing with the well-known poem of Oppian, a writer of the third century, intitled *Cynegetics*, or Treatise on the Chase, in four books. Although repeatedly printed after 1515, the copy before us was made in 1554, This is followed by a treatise on the same subject, composed by the historian Xenophon, and by another, in Greek verse, on the nature of animals; a production of the thirteenth century, by Manuel Philé, who dedicated it to the Emperor Michael Palæologus.

This assemblage of treatises on the chase and the qualities of animals is explained by the magnificent binding of the volume, in which are introduced the letters H (crowned) and D, coupled together in a cypher, intermixed with crescents, bows and quivers, and other ornaments in gold, with the royal arms of France painted on a medallion in the centre of the upper cover, whilst on the lower cover Diana chasing a stag is represented on a similar medallion; thus indicating that the volume originated in the intimacy between Henry II. and Diane de Poitiers, (Comtesse de Maulevrier,) that king

having caused it to be written by the most able Greek scribe of the time, and ornamented with many drawings and colored figures*.

The volume is of a small folio size, and is written upon fine smooth paper, like that of the Levant. It contains 104 leaves, and at the end is the subscription, copied at the foot of the Plate, which may be translated—"The present volume was written at Paris, in the reign of King Henry II., by the hand of Angelus Vergecius, of the Isle of Crete, in the year 1554."

The scribe Angelus Vergecius was one of the most skilful Greek calligraphers of modern times. He was invited to Paris by Francis I., who directed him to draw up a catalogue of his Greek manuscripts, which is still carefully preserved. He transcribed a great number of Greek manuscripts, both in Italy and France, between the years 1535 and 1566, more than twenty of which are now in the Bibliothèque Royale, and among them the copy of the works of Euclid, presented by Vergecius to the Chancellor De l'Hôpital, afterwards in the Colbert collection. His talent gained him the protection of four successive monarchs, since he did not die until the reign of Charles IX. The perfection of his writing acquired so great a reputation, that it was said to have served as a model for the Greek type of the royal printing establishment in France, whilst his name is supposed to have been the origin of the proverb, "He writes like an angel."

The fac-simile fully bears out the praises given to his writing, and exhibits a beautiful specimen of round, elegant, regular cursive Greek minuscules, with the same spirits, accents, punctuation, and contractions which have been long

* For a more detailed account of this volume, and a representation of its binding, see the *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Royale*, tom. v. p. 632, and Willemin, *Monuments Français inédits*, pl. 287, tom. ii. p. 64.—Ed.

adopted in print. The first line alone has a majuscule letter, an ϵ of the ordinary capital form; the initials of the other lines being in the ordinary cursive characters.

A miniature is painted at the head of the text, representing Oppian, the author of the work, presenting his treatise to the Emperor Caracalla; on which occasion he solicited, as a recompense, the liberty of his father, a senator who had been exiled for his opposition to Septimus Severus, and his request was granted by the Emperor.

This miniature will give an idea of the pictorial art in the manuscript; and it may be added, that those paintings which illustrate the treatise of Oppian (which are not the best in the volume) are attributed to the daughter of Angelus Vergecius.

This precious manuscript was brought from the old royal library at Fontainebleau.

PLATE XCIII.

CAPITAL AND CURSIVE GREEK WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

TREATISE ON PROVIDENCE, BY ANASTASIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

GREAT difficulty has been experienced by the writers of ecclesiastical history in distinguishing between the various persons who bore the name of Anastasius, bishop or patriarch of Antioch, and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance, that several of these persons originally came from Mount Sinai in Palestine. Many works bearing the name of Anastasius of Antioch, have been attributed by critics to various

writers of that name, who lived in the fifth and sixth, and even in the eleventh century.

The title of the *Treatise on Providence*, of which the first page is represented in the Plate, states its author to have been St. Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch,—ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΝΤΟΧΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΣ; leaving us in doubt whether it alludes to Anastasius III., who lived in the seventh century, or Anastasius IV., who lived in the eleventh century.

The treatise in question is not only inedited, but scarcely known to Greek critics. It is not mentioned by Fabricius, in the list of the writings of St. Anastasius, inserted in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. ix., published in 1719, but is preserved in a manuscript belonging to the Communal Library of Rheims, and was first noticed by Montfaucon, in vol. i. of his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, published in 1739. At page 1288 is a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Remy, at Rheims, in which is mentioned a volume written upon cotton paper, No. 517, containing various writings of Theodoret, Nicetas Choniates, Johannes Damascenus, Maximus, and Origen, and including the treatise upon Providence by Anastasius. Harles, who re-edited and considerably augmented the work of Fabricius in 1807, noticed in vol. x., p. 595, note *dd.*, the indication of this treatise given by Montfaucon, beyond which no other mention occurs, either of the manuscript, or of the treatise itself.

The manuscript in question was written by Constantine Palæocappas, a skilful Greek calligrapher (mentioned hereafter in the account of the Slavonic Evangelistarium of Rheims), by whom several other volumes now in the Bibliothèque Royale were written, one of which commences with a Latin dedication to the King Henry II. The present nearly contemporary manuscript also bears a dedication, contained in the ornament

at the head of the fac-simile. An obelisc, with a crescent at its apex, rests upon a wide pedestal, which is ornamented with a rich escutcheon, surmounted by a cardinal's hat, and bears the Latin inscription, CARO[*lo*] CARDI[*nali*] LOTHARIN[*giæ*] ARCH[*iepiscopo*] DUCI RHEM[*ensi*], which designates the person to whom the volume is dedicated, Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop-Duke of Rheims, who died in 1574.

The motto ΣΟΥ ΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ ΧΛΟΑΣΩ, written at the sides of the obelisc, alludes to the ivy branch twined round it, which will flourish as long as the obelisc itself remains standing; by which the calligrapher ingeniously intimates the protection afforded to him by the powerful cardinal. The letters of this device are written in small square Greek capitals.

The title of the treatise is written in large finely-proportioned capitals, in alternate colors of blue, red, and green; and the text is in a fine conjoined cursive character, many of the letters, and even entire words being written with an uninterrupted stroke of the pen; a mode of writing adopted by the calligraphers in imitation of the tachygraphers, subsequent to the ninth century. It is rare, however, to meet with any ancient* cursive manuscripts written so elegantly as the one before us; which is indeed very recent, being of the sixteenth century, and presents a fine and perfect specimen of modern Greek writing. The first letter is a Θ, ornamented with foliage; the first line being, Θαμβεῖται πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἀνθρῶπων φύσις. The word in the margin, ἐρώτεσις, announces the question, which is the subject of the text: the spirits and accents are of the modern form.

* This remark is wholly misapplied, since no *ancient* manuscript exists written in such a style.—Ed.

PLATE XCIV.

GREEK WRITING.

XVIITH CENTURY.

LECTIONARIUM OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE miserable state to which the Greek Church and nation were reduced beneath the authority of the Turks, until the recent period of their regeneration, their political condition, and even the vicissitudes of their perpetual vassalage, deprived them of the more ordinary advantages possessed by nations more free and more civilized. The introduction of the art of printing into Christian Greece was thus prevented, and hence the existence of manuscripts for the use of the Greek Church, written at a very modern period, and often at great expense, when the more economical practice of printing was generally diffused over Europe.

The Greek manuscript from whence the present fac-simile has been taken, is one of these recent manuscripts, having been written as late as the seventeenth century, but it is, nevertheless, remarkable for its fine execution, as well as for its miniatures and for its binding, which is by a Slavonic hand.

It is written upon strong smooth paper, manufactured in Europe, bearing the letters A C for its water-mark in one part of the leaf, and three crescents in another part. The first page is occupied by a vignette heightened with gold, and the text which follows, as well as the whole of the succeeding page, are written in gold. An initial letter of large size, composed of flowers, leaves, or animals, skilfully arranged, occurs at the commencement of each chapter, the first lines of

which are also in gold. Four large miniatures, enclosed in borders, occupy the entire page, and represent the Evangelists writing their Gospels. In a fifth miniature Christ is represented seated, holding the volume of the Gospels, and around him are arranged the twelve signs of the Zodiac, commencing with *Libra*. The name of the month September is written between the two scales of Libra, and it is in fact with this month that the Greek Church commences the year, which terminates on the 31st of August. The names of the other months are inscribed near the figures of the remaining signs. This curious miniature forms the *pendant* of the page represented in the Plate, the vignette of which is executed without taste, but some of the others possess more merit.

The first line is written in large elongated Greek capitals, some being twice the height of the others, close together, and contiguous, often written within each other, and more according to the fancy of the scribe, rather than following any regular system. It is to be read, ΜΗΝΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΑΡΧΗ ϹΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΜΗΝ ϹΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟϹ, *i. e. Menologium, the commencement with (the aid of) the Holy God; the month of September.* The rubric adds, Καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πα(τ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ Στυλίτου καὶ ἡ σύναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, *i. e.*, "*And the commemoration of our father, Saint Simeon Stylites, and feast of the holy Mother of God;* both of these feasts falling on the 1st of September, according to the liturgy of the Greek Church*. The title, in gold letters, is to be read, Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκάν, *From the Gospel of St. Luke*, and the beginning of the text (taken from chapter iv., vv. 16—18 of the Gospel of St. Luke), Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰς (Ἰησοῦς) εἰς τὴν Ναξαρὲτ. οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος. κ. τ. λ.

The text of this manuscript abounds in ligatures and abbreviations, the most singular of which is the figure ϛ, which

* See the *Menologium* for September, printed at Venice by Pinelli, in 1549, folio.

stands for καὶ, either used alone, or compounded, as in the word καιρῷ, in the first line. In other respects, this volume deserves to be classed among those remarkable for their graphic execution.

In a miniature placed at the commencement, two personages are represented standing, clad in the oriental style, and holding between them a richly-bound volume. Their names are inscribed over their heads, Ἰωάννη Ματθαί. η βοεβοδα. Δόμνα Ἑλήνα, designating John Matthei, Wayvode of Wallachia in 1653*, and Donna Helena, his wife.

An Arabic inscription upon the page opposite these figures, states that the volume had been bequeathed in the year 1648 to the church of St. Mary at Damascus, by Euthymus†, Patriarch of Antioch.

The binding of this volume is also of interest, although rudely executed. The centre of the upper cover is occupied by a figure of Christ upon the Cross, surrounded by the Evangelists, the Virgin, and St. Andrew, whilst the under cover is destitute of gilding, and has the triumph of Christ over hell stamped on it in relief, upon thick leather fastened on the wood.

* *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tom. xi. pt. 2, pp. 326, 328.

† See the *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii., col. 773, and Besson, *La Syrie Sainte*, Paris, 1660, p. 75.

PART II.

DIVISION II.

LATIN WRITING

IN GENERAL.

PLATE XCV.

ETRUSCAN WRITING.

PREVIOUS TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTION ON A CIPPUS AT PERUGIA.

Our readers will probably feel no surprize in being presented with an illustration of Etruscan writing copied from a lapidary inscription; the nation which bears this name having so long ceased to exist, and no care taken to preserve any of its manuscript documents.

Under the name of Etruscans, are generally understood the people who under that name, and those of the Sabines, Volscians, Oscans, and Samnites, first opposed, and first fell beneath the Roman power. The history of these nations is not less ancient than that of Rome itself; in fact many of their cities flourished before the time of Romulus, and if at this distant epoch one independant state obtained by conquest a supremacy over another, the advantage gained by Rome was that of being the latest to rise to the supremacy, and render the rest submissive to her authority. Modern historians dwell but slightly on their history, but their monuments supply the omission; the ruins of their ancient cities abound with coins, and edifices, statues in stone and bronze, bas-reliefs, painted vases, and marbles bearing inscriptions are frequently brought to light, whilst from the tombs of their kings recently discovered have been drawn admirable works of art, composed of massive gold.

Latin historians have admitted the obligations which the

infant state of Rome was under to the civilization of Etruria, from which she borrowed her gods, her religion, her agriculture, her calendar, her mode of computation of time for the national annals, etc. ; and although the Etruscan subsequently became mingled with the Greek, the debt due to the Italiote people was constantly acknowledged. Moreover, their proximity produced a great analogy in their respective institutions.

The usage of writing existed among the Etruscans at the period assigned to the foundation of Rome; and fable attributes its introduction into Italy to Evander and his colony of Arcadians, at an epoch nearly contemporary with the ruin of Troy, whilst other traditions (not, however, more trustworthy) give it to the Pelasgi. The country of Magna Græcia, (Calabria, Naples, etc.,) peopled with Greeks, in consequence of their early communications with the Etruscans, must have imparted to them a knowledge of writing, supposing they were ignorant of it.

It is certain, that the ancient Greek, Roman, and Etruscan alphabets are perfectly analogous, both in respect to the number, form, and expression of the letters. All three at first possessed but sixteen letters; the Greek alphabet was subsequently increased to twenty and twenty-four; the Latin alphabet received also additions in process of time; but the Etruscan alphabet perished with its people, previous to such additions being made.

We find, in fact, only sixteen letters in the inscription before us; the letters B, D, J, K, O, Q, U, Y, Z, are wanting; their existence, indeed, presupposes a delicacy of perfection in the pronunciation of a language, since they are only phonic modifications of P, T, I, C, A, and other short vowels, whilst Y and Z are of Greek origin.

With these analogies existing between the Etruscan, Greek, and Latin alphabets, we find certain anomalies not less remarkable in their use.

1. The Etruscan writing is read from right to left, like that of the people of the Levant; the Greeks, it is true, wrote alternately from right to left, and from left to right, but no monument exists of Greek writing from right to left throughout, whilst every known Latin monument is written from left to right.

2. In the Etruscan writing, the vowels are often suppressed.

3. The words are often separated by one or two dots, or by a diagonal stroke.

4. We are entirely ignorant to which family of languages the Etruscan language belongs. The languages of the east and those of the north of Europe have been tried in vain; and up to the present time the system of the Abbé Lanzi is the least discredited, consisting in the explanation of the Etruscan words by those in Greek or Latin, which come the nearest to them in sound; but this plan does not satisfy all writers. Etruscan palæography has yet to be decyphered*.

The inscribed stone represented in the Plate was discovered near Perugia in 1822. A learned Italian, M. Vermiglioli, considers that it is written in the Oscan language, and that it relates to rural laws, the boundaries of estates, etc. He reads the top line, from right to left, as follows, EVLAT TANNA LAREXVL AMEFACHAR, etc. In the Plate the words are more separated than in the original, the date of which ascends to a period antecedent to the Christian era.

* Since this was written, an attempt has been made by Sir William Betham to explain the Etruscan inscriptions by the aid of the Irish language, but with what success is still a matter of dispute. See his *Etruria Celtica*, 2 vols. 8vo., 1842—Ed.

PLATE XCVI.

CURSIVE ROMAN WRITING.

IIND (?) CENTURY.

TABLETS OF WAX, SUPPOSED TO BE ROMAN.

THE existence of a cursive, rapid, ordinary style of writing, amongst the Romans during the period of the Empire, and probably at an earlier era, has been the subject of much controversy in modern times. It is certain, however, that the civilization and social state of the Romans were founded, like that of modern society, upon such principles of civil and judicial administration, as necessarily to require the general practice of writing among the citizens. The scribes termed *tachygraphers*, were, in fact, the practisers of this cursive rapid writing, in which the conjunction of the letters rendered unnecessary the raising of the hand, which in majuscule writing occupies so much time. Eusebius, in speaking of Origen, distinguishes clearly between the *tachygraphers* and *calligraphers*, and Quintilian blames well-educated men for neglecting the practice of writing well and quickly, "cura bene et velociter scribendi." The authority of such passages would lead us therefore to infer with certainty the existence of this cursive writing at Rome and throughout the Empire.

We have also the authority of monuments, which are equally decisive on the subject. The manuscript on Egyptian papyrus, preserved at Milan, which contains a Latin translation, by Rufinus, of the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, which is as early as the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, (the second half of the fourth century,) is written in a cursive, con-

joined hand, very difficult to decypher. No other example can be cited anterior to the fifth or sixth century, especially if we attempt to distinguish with too much precision between the minusculo-cursive, and the pure cursive. The latter was not used in manuscripts (properly so called), and the detached pieces relative to ordinary affairs or official business have perished, together with so many other of the more important documents of ancient history. The testamentary charter of Ravenna therefore, of which a fac-simile will be given hereafter*, will present the most ancient authentic model known up to the present time, of the cursive Roman-Latin writing.

A singular palæographical discovery has lately been made known, namely, that in the year 1790 certain tablets of wax, whereon was inscribed a Latin Act, dated in the third Consulate of Lucius Verus, were discovered in one of the gold mines of Hungary, which having long lain neglected, were exhibited by their possessor in 1835 to M. Massmann, of Munich, who published them at Leipsic in 1840, under the title of *Libellus aurarius, sive tabulae ceratae et antiquissimae et unicae Romanae*, in a 4to volume, containing the history and literal interpretation, together with a fac-simile of these tablets.

Hence, as the date assigned to these tablets reached so far back as A.D. 167, they have been placed at the head of the existing specimens of the common cursive minuscule writing; but unfortunately an examination of M. Massmann's fac-similes has caused the tablets to be rejected as fictitious, and unworthy of being received among monuments intitled to confidence†.

* MM. Champollion refer to this fac-simile as following immediately after the present; but it was subsequently placed at the head of the writings of Italy subsequent to the year 500 (No. cxxxv. in the present series of Plates). Its date is A.D. 552.—Ed.

† It is very surprising, that after such an opinion, M. Silvestre should have thought it worth while to give a Plate of no value whatever (being merely a copy of an acknowledged forgery), or that MM. Champollion should have wasted more words on the subject.—Ed.

The present Plate is a careful copy of that given by M. Massmann. It represents two deal tablets, covered with wax, in a frame of deal. On the wax has been traced a Latin text, commencing with the words, (line 1) "*Julium Juli quoque commagistrum suum* (line 2) *ex die magisteri sui non accessisse ad alburnum ne(que).*" The lower tablet is separated into two columns by a slip of deal, and is considered as the commencement of the document, in these words, "*Descriptum et recognitum factum ex libello qui propositus erat,*" etc.

Notwithstanding the care which the modern inventor has taken to disguise his hand, by imitating with much skill the forms of certain letters, such as the *e*, formed by two vertical lines, and *a*, *d*, and *b*, as found in authentic documents, yet the indications of fraud are evident, the chief of which consists in the separation of the words, of which no example occurs, either in the longest Roman inscriptions, nor in those monuments which are the most analogous to them; in proof of which may be cited the Libellus of Velius Fidus, of the year 155, in letters slightly rustic, unequal, conjoined, and somewhat approaching the cursive*; a model, unfortunately for the wax tablets, so evidently resembling them, as to shew the latter to be but disguised copies.

* See it in the *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. iii., p. 635; and consult also Dr. Todd's paper on the ancient wax tablets found in Ireland, vol. xxi., plate 2 of *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, 4to. 1848.—Ed.

PLATE XCVII.

UNCIAL ROMAN WRITING.

IIIRD CENTURY.

THE REPUBLIC OF CICERO, A PALIMPSEST MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN.

THE term *palimpsest*, signifying *anciently effaced** or *scraped off*, has been applied to those manuscripts, the pages of which have received a written text, which was subsequently effaced in order to give place to another; an operation which has occasionally been a second time repeated, so that the same page has received three successive writings, of which the last only is visible.

Beneath these later texts (although often themselves very ancient) the earlier writing has been at times suspected to exist, as for instance, when the actual text was written in a direction contrary to the marks of its ruled lines; and after many attempts a chemical composition has been invented, which revives the older ink, and thus restores to literature fragments of several works, the loss of which had been long deplored by the learned of modern times.

This destructive practice is not to be attributed altogether to the barbarous middle ages, for Cicero teaches us, that even in his time both parchment and papyrus were defaced, so as to fit it to be used again; and he writes to the jurisconsult Trebatius, (*Epp. Fam.* vii. 18) to praise him for his parsimonious industry in this respect, and hints at his having effaced the letters which he had written to him, in order to write his own answers thereon.

* More correctly, *again effaced*, or *scraped*.—ED.

Three causes therefore led to this practice: the slight value set on a writing, motives of economy, and the scarcity of the materials employed.

The custom of effacing ancient manuscripts became more frequent after the sixth century, and by a system of manual industry (unfortunately too successful) adopted in the monasteries, the greater part of the writings of the ancient profane authors gave place to the lucubrations of the theologian. Hence it is, that so many works of ancient genius have disappeared, and hence the treatise *De Republica* of Cicero, and fragments of some of his other writings have remained buried for a thousand years beneath the *Commentaries of St. Augustine on the Psalms*, and the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon.*

The earliest observations on palimpsest manuscripts were made in France in 1692 by M. Boivin, of the Bibliothèque du Roi, who discovered beneath the Greek text of St. Ephraem, written in the fourteenth century, a portion of the Greek Bible, in uncial letters of the sixth century*.

In our own days an archæological spirit has been directed to the oldest manuscripts, with the hopes of disinterring still more ancient texts. Numerous examinations have lately been made of the Latin and Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and many palimpsests have been discovered; without the discovery, however, of any important texts. Some fragments of the Greek philosophers or Latin commentators have indeed attracted attention, but it is still hoped that with perseverance more important results may be produced. The researches of foreign *savants* have been more fortunate, amongst whom we may especially mention the Cardinal Angelo Mai, formerly librarian of the Ambrosian library at

* The whole of the ancient text was restored by chemical agency in 1834, and has since been published by Dr. C. Tischendorf, at Leipsic, 2 vols. 4to., 1843—5. He ascribes it to the fourth century. The text of Ephraem is assigned to the twelfth century.—Ed.

Milan, and now of the Vatican library at Rome, and M. l'Abbé Peyron, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Turin; each of whom has published a volume of inedited writings of Cicero.

The most complete of these writings, and the most regretted as lost of those of the Roman orator, contains the treatise *De Republica**, which was discovered by Cardinal Mai beneath a copy of St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms, contained in the Vatican manuscript upon vellum, numbered 5757.

This priceless manuscript came from the celebrated Abbey of St. Columbanus at Bobio, in the Milanese territory, to the Vatican Library. Whence did the monks of Bobio obtain it? The researches of Cardinal Mai furnish a probable reply to this question, which is highly interesting, in connexion with the literature of France.

Amongst the letters of Gerbert, (a native of Auvergne or Quercy, and subsequently Pope Silvester II.) is one written in the year 987 from Rheims, where he was secretary to Archbishop Adalberon, to a scholastic named Constantine, who was about to leave Fleury-sur-Loire for Rheims; in which Gerbert begs him not to forget to bring with him the Treatise of Cicero *De Reipublica*, and the *Oratio in Verrem*. Not long afterwards Gerbert was appointed Abbot of Bobio, and subsequently Archbishop of Rheims, Archbishop of Ravenna, and lastly Pope. If therefore Constantine took with him to Rheims the manuscript of Cicero, which Gerbert so much desired, it is probable that the latter took it with him to Bobio. Cardinal Mai has not examined this question in detail, supposing the later writing, containing the Commentaries of St. Augustine, to be anterior to the tenth century; but if our conjecture† be well-founded, the second

* This work was published by Cardinal Mai at Rome, in 1828, in the *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum tomus I., typis Vaticanis.* 8vo.—[Reprinted at London, 1823.—Ed.]

† The French editors assume as their own the conjecture that this was

writing must be of the end of the tenth century, and the substitution of St. Augustine's Commentary must have been made very soon after the arrival of the volume at Bobio. Moreover, Gerbert was one of the monks of the Monastery of Fleury or St. Benoît-sur-Loire, which is known to have possessed many very ancient manuscripts, several of which will be subsequently noticed. The fac-simile will afford an exact idea of the state of each page of this manuscript, the number of which amounts to upwards of 300. The text of Cicero's treatise is written in double columns, each consisting of fifteen lines. The writing is in fine, large, tall Roman uncials; the words not divided; the letters not truncated, and the summits short, and circumflexed; the transverse strokes short, the tails and the heads of the letters out of line, also short, and cut off obliquely. The fac-simile is taken from the first page of the seventy-fifth leaf, and is to be read (with the addition of punctuation) thus :—

TETERRIMUS	BES ET QUASI
ET EX HAC UEL	CIRCUMITUS ī
OPTIMATIUM	REBUS PUBLICIS
UEL FACTIOSA	COMMUTATIO
TYRANNICA IL	NUM ET UICIS
LA, UEL REGIA,	SITUDINUM:
UEL ETIAM PER	QUOS CUM COG
SAEPE POPULA	NOSSE SAPIEN
RIS; ITEMQ. EX	TIS EST, TUM UE
EA GENUS ALI	RO PROSPICERE
QUOD ECFLO	INPENDENTIS,
RESCERE EX IL	IN GUBERNA
LIS, QUAE ANTE	DA REMP., MO
DIXI, SOLET: MI	DERANTEM
RIQ. SUNT OR	CURSUM ATQ. IN

the identical manuscript brought to Rheims, but Cardinal Mai expressly notices the same supposition, and then rejects it as untenable, on account of the antiquity of the second text, which is undoubtedly earlier than the tenth century.—Ed.

The date of this fine specimen of uncial, or round Roman writing, may be the subject of discussion. The employment of such a kind of writing for several centuries subsequent to the fourth, and the uniformity in its character, may occasion doubt as to the precise determination of the age of a manuscript. The one before us is doubtless one of the oldest of the known Latin manuscripts, and Cardinal Mai does not hesitate to refer it to the second or third century of our era.

The *éclat* of this discovery was deservedly great, especially in Paris, where M. Bernardi, an able jurisconsult, had endeavoured to reconstruct this very treatise by collecting the various citations from it contained in other writings; in all of which the divine principle, that the *sovereignty of justice is anterior and superior to all others*, is recognized, which Cicero himself, with a rare philosophy, carried out so fully in practice. This treatise has subsequently been translated into French by M. Villemain.

St. Augustine was acquainted with, and cites this treatise of Cicero; indeed, Cardinal Mai supposes, that he derived the idea of his *City of God* from it; at all events it is certain, that he would not himself have effaced the text of Cicero, to write over it his Commentary on the Psalms. It is a portion of this Commentary which is here exhibited by the second writing of the manuscript, which is a fine specimen of another variety of small uncial letters. The uncial capitals of the title, in the middle of the page, and those at the beginning of the paragraphs, are, in general, negligent, and of unequal size, with the tails cut off obliquely; the large initial P of Chapter CXXIV. is ornamented with tessellated work, with the tail fancifully lengthened. The words of St. Augustine upon this psalm commence—"PSALMUS ISTE PERTINENS AD NUMERUM CANTICORUM GRADUŪ, DE QUO TITULO IN ALIIS JAM MULTA DIXIMUS ET REPETERE NOLUMUS, NE VOS OBTUNDAMUS POTIUS QUĀ INSTRUAMUS," etc.

PLATE XCVIII.

CURSIVE LATIN WRITING.

IIIRD OR IVTH CENTURY.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT IN A SUIT BETWEEN PRIVATE PARTIES.

In a preceding notice we have alluded to the rarity, during the first four centuries of the Christian era, of authentic documents written in cursive Latin letters, and to the doubts entertained as to the use of this kind of writing amongst the Romans previous to the period of the Lower Empire. The fac-simile before us will assist in removing these doubts, as it is one of those rare monuments which throw a clear light on the obscure points of the history of writing among the ancients.

It is to Egypt that we are indebted for this precious document, a country which appears to have been destined to collect and preserve, not only the monuments of its own annals, but also those of the foreign nations which successively spread themselves over this ancient land.

Rome, having driven out of Egypt the Greeks, who had succeeded to the Pharaohs, imposed on the country her own institutions, and the Latin language replaced that of Greece in all the acts of public administration; the inscriptions which refer to the presence of Roman prefects in Egypt, are in Latin; the decrees of the Emperors, and other acts of the civil authority were also in Latin, as appears from the text here represented, as well as from the celebrated decree of Diocletian, found both in Asia Minor and in Egypt.

The sheet of papyrus figured in the Plate is but a portion of a roll of unknown length, which contained, in many pages,

the text of a judicial decree, given in the name of the public authority in a suit between private parties; this imperial decision annulling the forced sale of a property, which had been submitted to by a person named Isidorus.

This roll of papyrus was found in Egypt, in the island of Philæ, as it is stated, and, according to the custom with the Arabs, when they discover any of these rolls, it was unfortunately cut into pieces, which were distributed to the several persons concerned in the discovery. Of the entire roll two pieces subsequently came to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, a third to the Museum of the Louvre, and three others into the Egyptian Museum at Leyden.

In 1839, M. Champollion Figeac published fac-similes of the two first-mentioned fragments, in his collection of charters and manuscripts on papyrus, in the Bibliothèque Royale*, admitting his inability to explain their contents. In 1840 M. Massmann, of Munich, having succeeded in decyphering the Leyden fragments, gave fac-similes of them in his work on the *Wax Tablets* previously described (Plate XCVI.), and enabled M. Champollion Figeac to apply his principle to the determination of the text before us. The two fragments at Paris contain only seven lines in each column or page, but the three at Leyden have eight, which appears to be the regular number throughout.

The lines are written with wide spaces, and but little is wanting in the fac-simile to render them complete; the left-hand margin having been somewhat injured.

Two of the Leyden fragments have also the commencement of the lines well preserved; one of them has the page entire, but the third contains only the end of the lines. From the perfect conformity both of the writing and text, we are authorized to consider all these fragments as portions of one

* In one volume folio, with 27 large plates. Paris, Firmin Didot.

and the same roll. The task of reconnecting them together, so as to recover the entire text, has yet to be done. It will be sufficient here to state the manner in which two of the last preserved lines in the fac-simile are to be read:—

(line 1.) *Ab iniquis eorum detentatoribus sibi restitui.*

(line 4.) *Vili pretio dato super possessionibus ad se pertinentibus cons:*

The characters of the fac-simile are peculiar to it; being less conjoined than those of the charter of Ravenna, which is of the year A.D. 552. The opinion of M. Massmann may therefore be adopted, who assigns the third or fourth century* as the era of these specimens of cursive diplomatic Roman writing.

PLATE XCIX.

ELEGANT ROMAN CAPITAL WRITING.

IVTH CENTURY.

THE SQUARE VIRGIL, WITH MINIATURES, IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY, NO. 3225.

THE pontifical library of the Vatican possesses three manuscripts of Virgil which have been long celebrated, on account of their great antiquity, as authorities for the text of the poems. The present work will contain exact fac-similes of these precious volumes, with notices of their history, and a *resumé* of the opinions which have been expressed respecting them.

* Massmann writes, "E quibus omnibus statuendum erit, papyrum sicuti *vix ante seculum p. Chr. natum tertium scriptum*, neque seculum quintum p. Chr. transire," p. 149.—ED.

The manuscript now under notice is considered as the oldest of the three. It is of a square quarto size, which was the usual form of the most ancient manuscripts. It is written on vellum, and ornamented with a great number of paintings, the subjects of which refer to the passages of the text in which they are inserted, and which are deserving of much consideration from the style of their execution. Unfortunately but a small portion of the manuscript is now in existence.

Mabillon saw and admired this manuscript at Rome in 1686, on which occasion a sort of palæographical congress was held in order to fix its age and value; it was then carefully examined by Emmanuel à Schelestrate, prefect of the Vatican, J. P. Bellorio, and Mabillon himself, and a literary *procès-verbal* of the result was drawn up by Schelestrate. It is there stated, that the style of the paintings was acknowledged to belong to a period anterior to the age of Constantine, and might even be referred to the time of Septimus Severus (A.D. 193—211), since in them were represented the temples, victories, edifices, ships with two banks of oars (*biremes*), Phrygian bonnets, costumes, and other objects illustrative of the customs of the Trojans and Romans; that these paintings were better designed than they would have been in the time of Constantine, and therefore indicated a previous epoch, so that the artist appeared to have copied from still more ancient models; and lastly, that nothing is to be observed in them, which does not belong to the higher period of the Roman empire*. The same opinions were expressed by Mabillon in the account of his travels in Italy, published in 1687†.

The peculiar forms of some of the letters of this manuscript have afforded grounds for determining its real age, and

* *Nouv. Traité de Diplomatique,* tom. iii. p. 57 *n.*—Ed.

† *Museum Italicum,* etc., tom. i., p. 63, 4to. post, Par. 1687.—Ed.

those who regard it as of the age of Septimus Severus (the beginning of the third century) refer to the G, the half-circle of which is generally terminated by a small comma-like stroke; —the same form being found on a sun-dial, which is assigned to that period.

It will be seen from the fac-simile, that the manuscript is written in majuscule Roman capitals, of an elegant but somewhat careless form; the bases and tops short, the latter horizontal, and the bases circumflexed*; the cross-strokes are still shorter, but horizontal; the words are not divided, and the phrases punctuated; the point on the top of the line indicating a full stop, and when placed in the middle or at the bottom, being equivalent to a comma and semicolon. The second stroke of the U is prolonged below the line, which is peculiar to this kind of writing. Schelestrate says, that the U in this manuscript is round, whilst Mabillon calls it square; but the fact is, that the two strokes of the letter are united on the level of the line by the rounded up-stroke from the bottom of the first limb, and as this stroke was executed with more or less care, the letter appears square when negligently written, although in reality rounded when regular.

The letter A is destitute of the cross-stroke, its first limb is perpendicular, and the second strong and oblique, and extends beyond the point of formation at the top; the F is taller than the other letters, its top-stroke sometimes horizontal, its cross-stroke very short, and the base curved; the P is not perfectly closed; the top of the T is very short, scarcely exceeding its base, both being curved; the L has its perpen-

† It may be remarked, that this minuteness of observation here and elsewhere, on the form of the letters, is not always borne out by the text, nor easy to be literally rendered. The tops of many of the letters are precisely of the same form as the bases, and it is not a correct distinction to state, that the former are horizontal, and the latter *en forme d'osselet* (˘) or *circumflexed*.—Ed.

dicular stroke above the line, and dilated gradually to the top, which is bent to the left, and obliquely formed; the two half-circles of the O are united at a point on the left of the central line. The general character of the writing is massy, close and square in all the rectangular letters.

The fac-simile is copied from the 30th fragment of this most valuable manuscript, and contains the verses 26—44 of the sixth book of the *Æneid.* It is represented also in page 103 of the edition of this manuscript of Virgil, published at Rome in 1741, in folio, by Jo. Dom. Compiglia; the text being printed in capitals, in imitation of the manuscript, and the miniatures copied from the engravings on copper made by Pietro Sancte Bartoli, by order of the Cardinal Camillo de' Massimi*. The manuscript was presented to the library by the celebrated Fulvio Ursini, when named prefect of the Vatican; and from the "*ex libris*" inscribed at the beginning of the volume, we learn, that it had previously belonged to the learned Italians Pietro Bembo and Joviano Pontano.

* These engravings are extremely inaccurate, as may be seen by comparing the tracings given by D'Agincourt, tome v. pl. lxv., tome iii. p. 29. The original colored drawings of these miniatures, made for the Cardinal de' Massimi, in 1642, are preserved in the British Museum, MS. Lansd. 834. They were previously in the collections of Askew and Mead, who purchased Bartoli's MSS. in 1728.—Ed.

PLATE C.

ROMAN CAPITAL WRITING.

IVTH CENTURY.

THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE, IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

TERENCE (Publius Terentius Afer) was brought to Rome as a slave, where he was purchased by a senator of the Terentian family. His surname *Afer* indicates his African origin, and it is supposed that he was born near Carthage, about B.C. 192. He died at Rome at the early age of thirty-three years. His works have placed him amongst the best writers and soundest moralists; such, at least, was the opinion of Varro, Cicero, Julius Cæsar and Horace.

The works of Terence, from their merit, could not fail to obtain a place in the public Roman libraries, as well as in those of wealthy individuals; and hence it is not surprising to meet with a manuscript of this author, the execution of which is generally referred to the fourth century of the Christian era. It is known by the name of the *Vatican Terence* (No. 3226); having been bequeathed by Fulvio Ursini to the pontifical library, but it had previously belonged to Pietro Bembo.

Another learned writer of the fifteenth century, Angelo Poliziano, regarded this manuscript as of the highest antiquity, as appears by a note written by him at the beginning of the volume, and copied in the Plate, as follows; "O FOELIX NIMIUM PRIORA! Ego Angelus Politianus, homo vetustatis minime incuriosus, nullum aeque me vidisse ad hanc diem codicem antiquum fateor." The other portion of the facsimile represents one of the pages of the manuscript. It will

be seen that the general form of the writing is that of the Roman capitals, but as these forms are not regular, this style has received the name of *rustic Roman;* its particular character being, to have the strokes of the letters interrupted or broken, acute, curved, and close together; the H and P are more especially remarkable.

The fac-simile is taken from the argument which precedes the first scene of the play of Terence, intitled *Phormio,* as announced in the first line, INCIPIT TERENTI PHORMIO. The three lines following indicate the festival and year when this comedy was performed, the name of the Greek author from whom Terence had borrowed it, and the number of times it had been acted at the theatre. ACTA LUDIS MEGALENSIS.* Q[*uinto*] CASPIONE GN[*eïo*] SERVILIO COS.[*Consulibus*] GRAECA APOLLODORII EPIDICAZOMENOS FACTA EST IIII., *i.e.*, "*Represented at the Games of the great Goddess* (in the month of April), *in the Consulate of Quintus Caspio and Gneius Servilius: translated from the Greek of Apollodorus,* (intitled) *Epidicazomenos; it has been performed four times.*"

This title differs entirely from that of the printed editions, in which the Phormio is said to have been represented at the Roman festival (in the month of September) by the company of Lucius Ambivius Turpio and of Lucius Attilius of Præneste, during the consulate of Caius Faunus Strabo and Marcus Valerius Messala, in the year 160 B.C. The opinion of critics has been in favor of the latter statement, and it has been supposed that some mistake has been made in the title of the manuscript before us.

The next line, G. SULPICI APOLLINARIS PERIOCHA, announces the argument of the Phormio, written in verse, by Caius Sulpicius Apollinaris, and the twelve lines which follow form the commencement of this argument, to be thus read, with the addition of the punctuation.

* *Sic* in the fac-simile. The last S is an error for B[*us*].—ED.

CHREMES FRATER ABERAT PEREGRE DEMIPHO,
RELICTO ATHENIS ANT[IP]HONE FILIO.
CHREMES HABEBAT LEMNI UXOREM ET FILIAM,
ATHENIS ALIAM CONJUGEM, ET AMANTEM UNICAM,
GNATAM PHIDICINAM. MATER E LEMNO ADVENIT
ATHENAS, MORITUR; VIRGO SOLA, ABERAT CHREMES,
FUNUS PROCURAT. IBI EAM VISAM ANTIPHO
CUM AMARET, OPERA PARASITI UXOREM ACCIPIT.
PATER ET CHREMES REVERSI, FREMERE; DEIN MINAS
TRIGINTA DANT PARASITO, UT ILLAM CONJUGEM
HABERET IPSE. ARGENTO HOC EMITUR PHIDICINA.
UXOREM RETINET ANTIPHO A PATRUO ADGNITAM.

Such is the text of a manuscript, considered as one of the most ancient existing of the Latin writers. Compared with the printed editions, some variations present themselves in the latter, such as *Chremetis* in the first line, *clam* in the third, etc.

PLATE CI.

ROMAN CAPITAL WRITING.

V[TH] CENTURY.

THE MEDICEAN VIRGIL, OF THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY AT FLORENCE.

Amongst the most celebrated Latin manuscripts in Europe, the one now under notice deservedly holds a place. It has been often and carefully examined by palæographers and critics, some of whom have regarded it with the highest enthusiasm, on account of its age and contents, whilst others, analysing the form and arrangement of the letters and the orthography of the words, have coldly opposed the judgment pronounced by the former in favor of its antiquity.

The true history of this remarkable and priceless volume is as follows:—

About the middle of the sixteenth century it belonged to the Cardinal Ridolfo Carpi, a contemporary of Pope Paul III., who died in 1549. From him it passed into the hands of the Cardinal del Monte, to whom the Grand Duke Cosmo I. sent his physician, Baccio Bandini, prefect of his library, for the express purpose of obtaining the volume. The letter of the Duke to the Cardinal, then at Rome, dated January 24, 1567, is still preserved*. The manuscript thus travelled in a very legitimate manner from Rome to Florence, and never belonged to the Vatican, from which library Aldus Manutius, writing in 1561, falsely asserted that it had been stolen.

It is a moderate sized quarto volume, of a square form, written on vellum, in perfect preservation, and consists of 440 leaves written on both sides, in capital Roman letters, elegant and massive, with the bases, cross, and top-strokes rustic and short; a few of the down-strokes reaching below the line, and some of the letters taller than the rest; with the words not separated from each other. The first three lines of each book are written in vermilion; the abbreviations B. signifying BUS, and Q. QUE.

The scholars of Italy have regarded this manuscript as earlier than the fourth century, but this opinion is not followed by those of other countries. Luke Holstein referred it to the end of the fourth century, about the time of the Emperors Valens and Theodosius; at all events, it is certain that the manuscript was in existence at the close of the fifth century, since it bears an inscription at the end of the *Bucolics*, stating that Turcius Rufus Apronianus Asterius had revised and corrected this copy of the works of Virgil. This note is not in the same hand as the text of the volume, but it is

* Catalogue of the Latin MSS. of the Mediceo-Laurentian library, by Bandini, tom. ii. col. 285.

known that the most ancient manuscripts were usually corrected immediately after the copy had been completed, and Apronianus Asterius, who corrected this manuscript, was Consul in the year 494. Hence this volume has been more generally referred (even in Italy itself) to the fifth century*. The whole of the poet's works are not contained in the manuscript. The *Georgics* and *Æneid* are entire, but a great portion of the *Eclogues* is wanting. The fac-simile is copied from the second page of the 87th leaf of the manuscript, being the commencement of the 4th book of the Æneid, which is to be read,

AT REGINA GRAVI IANDUDUM SAUCIA CURA,
VULNUS ALIT VENIS, ET CAECO CARPITUR IGNI.
MULTA VIRI VIRTUS ANIMO, MULTUSQ. RECURSAT
GENTES HONOS; HAERENT INFIXI PECTORE VULTUS,
VERBAQ. NEC PLACIDAM MEMBRIS DAT CURA QUIETEM.
POSTERA PHOEBEA LUSTRABAT LAMPADE TERRAS,
UMENTEMQ. AURORA POLO DIMOVERAT UMBRAM;
CUM SIC UNANIMAM† ADLOQUITUR MALESANA SORORE̅:
ANNA SOROR, QUAE ME SUSPENSAM INSOMNIA TERRENT?
QUIS NOVUS HIC NOSTRIS SUCCESSIT SEDIB. HOSPES?
QUEM SESE ORE FERENS? QUAM FORTI PECTORE ET ARMIS?
CREDO EQUIDEM, NEC VANA‡ FIDES, GENUS ESSE DEORUM.
DEGENERES ANIMOS TIMOR ARGUIT. HEU QUIBUS ILLE
JACTATUS FATIS! QUAE BELLA EXHAUSTA CANEBAT!
SI MIHI NON ANIMO FIXUM IMMOTUMQ. SEDERET,
NE CUI ME VINCLO VELLEM SOCIARE JUGALI,
POSTQUAM PRIMUS AMOR DECEPTAM MORTE FEFELLIT, etc.

* Catalogue of the Latin MSS. of the Mediceo-Laurentian library, by Bandini, tom. ii. col. 292.

† Two corrections occur in this word; a second A is surmounted by a point and stroke, to indicate that it is to be struck out, and an A is written over the E, to shew that the E is to be replaced by the A. [It must be remarked, that MM. Champollion have entirely mis-stated the nature of these corrections, but I have taken the liberty to set them right. —Ed.] The form *unanimam* is adopted in the best editions.

‡ Another correction occurs in this word.

The text is in a state of remarkable purity, which is an additional proof of the antiquity of the volume. It is, in fact, of inestimable value, as a monument of Latin literature, and it is not therefore surprising that an exact fac-simile of it (printed with types made to represent the letters of the text) should have been published at Florence, in 1741, by P. Fr. Foggini, a Roman prelate, and prefect of the Vatican, with this title, P. VIRGILII MARONIS CODEX ANTIQVISSIMVS, QUI NVNC FLORENTIAE IN BIBLIOTHECA MEDICEO-LAVRENTIANA ADSERVATVR, BONO PVBLICO TYPIS DESCRIPTVS. *Florentiae, typis Mannianis.* A copy of this work printed on vellum is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

PLATE CII.

ROMAN RUSTIC CAPITAL WRITING.

V^TH CENTURY.

THE VATICAN VIRGIL, ORNAMENTED WITH MINIATURES, NO. 3867.

THE present is another of the most celebrated manuscripts of classic literature, and has been consulted and studied by some of the most distinguished critics from the period of the revival of Latin learning; Valeriano Bolzani (better known under his latinized name of Pierius Valerianus) published from it, in 1532, a great number of various readings of the text of Virgil; and Aldus Manutius the younger selected a number of examples as authorities, which he inserted in his work published in 1561, under the title of *Orthographiæ ratio,* in which he endeavoured to establish a complete and rational

system of Latin orthography, founded upon antique inscriptions, medals, and the best manuscripts.

The importance and value of this manuscript was thus established in the sixteenth century, and it was then known by the title of *Codex Romanus*. It would, however, have been more just to have styled it *Codex Gallicus*, as it formerly belonged to France, where it was preserved long before it crossed the Alps. The French origin of this manuscript was first pointed out by the illustrious Bernard de Montfaucon, at the end of the seventeenth century; that celebrated palæographer having when at Rome discovered on the fourth leaf, the words, *Iste liber est Beati Dyonisii*, in a hand of the thirteenth century. No doubt can exist as to the locality to which the manuscript belonged, since on the seventy-sixth folio (where the tempest is described which Æneas sustained,) is the following note in old French, of a nearly coeval date with the preceding, "*Vechy comme les gens lezquiex estoient en la mer, estoient tourmentez pour le péchié d'une seule, chest à savoir, Juno.*" The name of *Jehan Courtois* also occurs in the volume, page 78, thus proving, beyond question, that it belonged formerly to the monastery of St. Denis in France*.

Mabillon subsequently gave a fac-simile of a few words of this manuscript, (a tracing of which he had received from Cardinal Casanata,) as a specimen of the most ancient Roman writing of the second age†; and the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* afterwards inserted in their work a more exact fac-simile of five entire lines, for which they were indebted to the Cardinal Passionei‡.

In the plate which accompanies this notice is presented for the first time a fac-simile of an entire page of the manu-

* See Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, Paris 1702, 4to. p. 277, and *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum*, Paris, 1739, 2 vols. fol.—[See fac-similes of these memoranda in D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc., tom. v. pl. lxiv.—Ed.]

† *De Re Diplomatica*, pp. 352, 353.

‡ Tom. iii. pp. 61, 62, pl. 35.

script, with one of its miniatures representing three shepherds engaged in discourse, surrounded by their flocks, whose names appear on the top line of the text, taken from the third eclogue of the poet of Mantua. This top line, as well as the names of the speakers introduced into the text, is written in red, the use of which is a mark of antiquity. The letters are of the same form and size throughout the manuscript; they are of the kind termed Roman rustic, or negligent capitals, and of a rectangular form, as distinguished from the round uncial letters. They are taller than broad; rather narrow, but elegant, with the bases, cross-strokes, and summits circumflexed. The V is rather rounded at bottom; the horizontal strokes of the E are very short; A is without the middle stroke, and the thick stroke is elevated above its junction; the T without a clearly defined top-stroke; P with a very small and rather open bow; L without a cross-stroke at the top; F and B with strokes exceeding the ordinary height of the lines; the vowels O E and A E always separated; Y not dotted; the tails of L and Q prolonged beneath the lines; and at the ends of lines the letters of a smaller size. The words are not separated and the punctuation which occurs after each word (often faulty by confounding the syllables,) has been added by a later and unskilful hand; entire pages being found without any stops. Mabillon and Montfaucon regarded this manuscript as one of the oldest known; Bottari, librarian of the Vatican, considered it anterior to the fourth century; but the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* hesitate to assign it even to that date. It does not appear, however, to be later than the fifth century; the paintings belong evidently to the period of the decline of art*.

* These miniatures are attributed, most absurdly, by D'Agincourt to the twelfth or thirteenth century. No reliance can be placed on a guide who commits an error of this magnitude. *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. ii. p. 74. tom. iii, p. 69, fol. 1823.—Ed.

PLATE CIII.

ROMAN RUSTIC WRITING.

V^TH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF SALLUST, IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

THE fragments of the Roman history of Sallust, of which a page is represented in the plate, have been known for three centuries, and yet it is only of late years that these precious remains of a manuscript of the highest interest with reference to early Latin palæography have been brought to light. These fragments consist of four leaves of vellum, containing eight pages of text, more or less entire, and more or less damaged by lapse of time. They were first discovered in France by Andreas Schott, a learned native of Antwerp, in the sixteenth century, who sent them to Justus Lipsius, from whom they passed into the hands of Pierre Daniel, his contemporary. No traces of their subsequent history for two centuries is met with, and the scholars who published or commented on them, such as Janus Douza, Freinshem, Bimard de la Bâtie, Muratori, and the President de Brosses, only had copies before them, believed by common report to have been extracted from a manuscript of the grammarian Servius, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Muratori, indeed, inserted them in the first volume of his *Novus Thesaurus veterum Inscriptionum*, 1739, as inedited fragments of an unknown author, an error into which he was led by Bernard de la Bâtie; but the President de Brosses was not deceived, but recognized them as a portion of the writings of Sallust. The original fragments appear to have remained for a length of time in the possession

of the Daniel family, bound up with other Latin manuscripts in a volume which was subsequently one of those purchased in France by Queen Christina of Sweden, who presented them to the Vatican library, where they are now religiously preserved. They were edited in 1828 by Cardinal Angelo Mai*, with a fac-simile of the whole, page for page. The fac-simile in our Plate represents the two columns of the recto of the third leaf with scrupulous fidelity, shewing even the accidental injury which the leaf has suffered.

The species of writing in this specimen is the rustic Roman capital, rather tall, with short heads and bases, thick and circumflexed, and with short cross-strokes; some of the tall letters reaching above the line; the words continuous, without either punctuation or abbreviations, and with a few of the letters slightly inclining to the uncial form. The top of the page is wanting, and the lines at the right side are more or less incomplete.

These two columns are to be read as follows, the *italic* letters indicating the insertions proposed by the learned prelate who first published them.

...NI TOR[P]ERE; QUIB*us* PRAETER
S[P]ECIEM BELLO NECESSARIA*m*
HAUD MULTO SECUS QUA*m*
FERRO NOCERI POTERAT. AT
VARINIUS DUM HAEC AGU*n*-
TUR A FUGITIVIS, AEGRA PAR-
TE MILITUM AUTUMNI GRA-
VITATE; NEQ*ue* EX POSTREMA
FUGA, CUM SEVERO EDICTO
JUVERENTUR, ULLIS AD SIG-
NA DEEUNTIB*us*, ET QUI RELI-

*mag*NIS OPERIB*us* COMMUN*ita*
DEINDE FUGITIVI CON*sum*-
TIS JAM ALIMENTIS, NE *prae*-
DANTIB*us* EX PROPIN*quo hos*
TIS INSTARET, SOLITI† MI-
LITIAE VIGILIAS STA*tiones*
que ET ALIA MUNIA E*xplent.*
SECUNDA VIGILIA *simul*
CUNCTI EGREDI*untur, re*-
LICTO BUCINAT*ore in cas*-
TRIS ET AD VIGIL*um speciem*

* *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum, tomus* I., *curante Angelo Maio.* 8°, *Romæ, typis Vaticanis,* 1828, pp. 414., seq.

† *Solitas,* Mai.

QUI ERANT PER SUMMA FLA-
GITIA DETRACTANTIB*us* MILI-
TIAM, QUAESTOREM SUUM
C. THORANIUM, EX QUO PRE-
SENTE VERA FACILLIME NOS-
CERENTUM MISERANT*. ET TA-
MEN INTERIM QUOM VO-
LENTIB*us* NUMERO QUATTUOR

PROCUL VISE*ntibus ere-*
XERANT FULT*a arboribus*
RECENTIA C*adavera et cre-*
BROS IGN*is accenderant* - -
MIDIN*i* - - - - - - - - -
RI - - - - - - - - - - -
TI - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

The fac-similes given by Cardinal Mai in three plates represent the letters in outline; in the present work they are given in full strokes, so as to represent as nearly as possible the appearance of the original manuscript, which was unquestionably written in the fourth or fifth century.

PLATE CIV.

ROMAN UNCIAL WRITING.

V^TH CENTURY.

WORKS OF ST. CYPRIAN, IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, PARIS.

THE date of the precious volume, which has furnished the present fac-simile, has been a subject of controversy. Montfaucon assigned it to the seventh century, but the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* carry it back to the fourth or fifth, since it possesses all the characters of that period. They write thus :—"The vellum is extremely thin and white; each page contains two columns, enclosed within two perpendicular strokes; each line is written on a horizontal stroke, which is only drawn to the width of the

* Cardinal Mai reads, *noscerentur miserat.*

page, and does not extend entirely across the leaf...The *alineæ* are carried beyond the perpendicular strokes...The words are not at all divided...DOMINUS is generally abbreviated $\overline{\text{DMS}}$, which is a mark of the highest antiquity; Q. is written for QUE, and $\overline{\text{DMI}}$. for DOMINI. The titles and the *explicit* are in uncials, alternately red and black. The first three lines of each book are in red, and often of a leaden color. The signature of each gathering appears on the last page, about half an inch from the bottom, and is written in uncial letters, without any ornament. The name of the author alone is written in capitals.....The Y is without dots, and the F has only two thin horizontal strokes. The T and L are very much like I. There are no stops, except such as have been subsequently introduced. Scarcely any orthographical errors occur, nor abbreviations, except in a few of the final words. The name CHRISTI is written (in Greek letters) XPI*."

These minute details constitute so many special palæographical precepts, sufficient to determine the truth of the opinion given by the Benedictines, as well as to guide the critic in the examination of other MSS. of the same period. They have given a fac-simile of a few lines of the manuscript†, but the specimen in our Plate, representing an entire (although injured) page, will give a far better idea of the original.

The writing is Roman uncial, elegant, full, moderately tall, continuous, semi-angular, with very fine hair-strokes; the letters being round, and half detached. M, at the end of a line, is indicated by a stroke with a hook at each end, or in the shape of an ω. B, at the end of a line, is written for BUS. Some of the letters, as in the word FIUNT, (col. 1, line 4,) are conjoined at the end of a line. A E are almost always detached. N, at the beginning of the page, is larger than the rest, merely

* *Nouv. Tr. de Diplomat.* tom. iii. p. 55, note (1).

† *Ibid.*, tom. iii., pl. 42, tom. iv. pl. 3.

from being the leading letter, which is another sure mark of great antiquity. A few interlineary corrections occur in small semi-uncial letters. Parts of words are carried from the end of one line to the beginning of another. The tails of the long letters are cut off diagonally, and the tops horizontally. Occasionally a blank space separates two phrases, but the marks of punctuation are much more recent than the text.

This manuscript now belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale (*Suppl. Latin*, No. 712). It formerly belonged to the library of St. Germain des Près (Nos. 185, 186), having been bequeathed to that monastery by the Duc de Coislin, with his library, in 1732. It consisted of two parts; the work of St. Cyprian, (which the Benedictines suppose to have come from Italy,) and fragments of a Græco-Latin Psalter, written in uncial Gallican letters, which they consider to be at least of the seventh century. We have nothing to add to this opinion. The fac-simile is a faithful representation of the first page of the manuscript, and exhibits all the palæographical marks of a production of the fifth century.

The text presents but little difficulty to the reader, the letters being clearly formed, so that it only requires to divide the words as follows:—

NUMQUAM TEMPORIB*us* CRIMEN OBRUITUR, NU*m*QUAM SCELUS OBLIVIONE SEPELITUR. EXEMPLA FIUNT QUAE ESSE JAM FACINORA DESTITERUNT. TUM DELECTAT IN MIMIS TURPITUDINUM MAGISTERIO VEL QUID DOMI GESSERIT RECOGNOSCERE, VEL QUID GERERE POSSIT AUDIRE*, etc.

This is a passage from the Epistle of St. Cyprian to Donatus, written shortly after the time of his conversion to Christianity.

* Page 4 of the edition of Baluze, Paris, 1726, folio.

PLATE CV.

ROMAN CAPITAL WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF VIRGIL IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY, NO. 3256.

THESE fragments, which formerly consisted of fourteen leaves, (two of which were lost at the fire, which occurred in the department of the printed volumes at the Vatican,) must have originally formed part of a volume consisting of several hundred leaves. These fine remains, with which no other manuscript will bear comparison, were formerly in the library of the brothers Pithou, the younger of whom died in 1621. A note of earlier date, proving them to have belonged at one time to France, is found on the first page of the manuscript, in these words;—*Claudius Puteanus Fulvio Ursino D.D.*, (*dono dedit*). Claude Du Puy, named in this note, was brother to the learned Jacques and Pierre du Puy, and died in 1594, and Fulvio Ursini in the year 1600.

These fragments were unknown to Mabillon, when he composed that part of his great work, (*De Re Diplomatica*, 1681, folio,) which treats of the Roman writing of manuscripts of the first age; but he appears subsequently to have obtained a notice of them, as is proved by the following observations of another learned Benedictine, D. Ruinart, made in 1709;—"Virgilii fragmentum, quod ex bibliotheca Pithœana aliquandiu præ manibus habuit ipse Mabillonius, mihi et aliis nonnullis non sine admirationis sensu ostendit*." In

* *Appendix nova ad tractatum De Re Diplomatica, à D. Th. Ruinart*, p. 635.

connexion with this passage, D. Ruinart published a fac-simile, taken from one of these fragments, containing four lines of the Æneid, (lib. 4,) commencing with the word *Thyias*, and it is from this specimen that these remains have hitherto been known. It is probable, that Mabillon obtained a knowledge of these fragments at Rome, during his travels in Italy, in 1685 and 1686. Ruinart regarded this manuscript as affording a specimen of the finest, most elegant, and largest Roman writing he had ever seen, and the only one with which he was acquainted written throughout in such a form, and in so large a letter. The same opinion is given by the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique**, who recognize in it all the characteristics of the highest antiquity.

The fac-simile in the Plate contains the verses 41 to 49, of the first book of the Georgics, which commence thus:—

IGNAROSQ. VIAE MECUM MISERATUS AGRESTES,
INGREDERE, ET VOTIS JAM NUNC ASSUESCE VOCARI.
VERE NOVO, GELIDUS CANIS CUM MONTIB. UMOR.

The writing is in large Roman capital letters, elegant, and wide, with simply formed summits and bases, those of the E being slightly curved; the cross-strokes not truncated; the top of the T circumflexed, and the A without the middle-stroke, with the full-stroke a little elevated. Smaller letters occur at the ends of the lines; a short stroke after B is used to indicate BUS; Q stands for QUE; the Y is without a dot, and on a basal stroke; A E and E T are not conjoined; the words are not separated; and, lastly, some faults are found in the text.

A large ornamental letter is placed at the beginning of the page, and as the word IGNAROS does not form the commencement of a paragraph, it is probable that the Roman calligrapher placed a large decorated letter at the head of each

* Tom. ii., pp. 504, 505. Tom. iii. pp. 41, 42.

page, thus giving a more magnificent appearance to the fine execution of this volume, which appears to belong to the sixth century.

PLATE CVI.

RUSTIC ROMAN CAPITAL WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

LATIN POETRY OF PRUDENTIUS, A CHRISTIAN POET.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens was born at Saragossa, in Spain, A.D. 348, and after having exercised the profession of an advocate, and filled the office of a governor of various cities, having also been known as a soldier and a courtier under the Emperor Honorius, he renounced the world at the age of 57 years.

Amongst his writings, his poetry has obtained and retained the greatest fame. The manuscript from which the fac-simile has been copied, proves that, even in his own days, his poems were highly esteemed. It would be, in fact, difficult to meet with a finer manuscript, or (among Latin works,) with a volume of greater antiquity. Mabillon did not hesitate to refer it to the fourth century, and thus contemporary with the author.

The volume is written on vellum of unequal fineness, but without a single faulty leaf. It is rather more tall than broad, and in its present state consists of 158 leaves, arranged in quaternions, or gatherings of four leaves, which are numbered with Roman cyphers, preceded by the letter Q, and placed at the foot of the page, as is the case in all the oldest manuscripts.

This valuable volume affords many proofs of the great care which was taken, even in the last days of Roman literature, to obtain accurate copies of texts then held in esteem. The excellent writing of the manuscript shews that a very skilful calligrapher was employed, whilst its freedom from errors proves him to have been a scholar.

The manuscript was collated and corrected as soon as finished, the corrections being made in a hand very similar to that of the text, but smaller; thus, in the second page, where the scribe had written *mortis imago est*, the corrector has added at the commencement of the verse, *est forma*, allowing the word *mortis* to remain, and by placing a dot under each of the letters of the two following words (*imago est*) has indicated that they are to be suppressed or expunged. A letter, word, or even a verse omitted, has been interlined by the corrector, but if several verses have been missed, he has added them at the foot of the page, and their proper position in the text is pointed out by a reference mark, and the word *sub*,—the additional verses bearing the same mark, and the word *hic*.

It is well known that the nobles of the Roman empire did not disdain this literary labor, and that Flavius, although Prefect of Rome in A.D. 399, performed also the function of a corrector of books. In the manuscript are inscribed, in the vacant space of the forty-fifth leaf, three words (slightly effaced) in semi-uncials, containing the name of *Sextius Agorius Bacilius*, who was Consul of the West in A.D. 527. The question therefore arises, was this Consul, like the Roman Prefect Flavius, the corrector of the manuscript before us? His name* is preceded by a cross.

The title of each poem (as shewn in the fac-simile) is written in vermilion. A marginal note in semi-uncial

* See a fac-simile of this name in the *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* tom iii. pl. 46, p. 208.—Ed.

characters, corresponding with the title, indicates the species of verse in which the poem is composed. For the funeral hymn, of which the commencement is in the Plate, we find written in the margin, *Anapesticum dimetrum brachicatalectyn.* There are twenty lines in each page of the manuscript, slightly ruled with a hard point, which add much to the regularity of the writing. This writing is in Roman capitals, somewhat negligent, or *rustic*, but rectangular in all those letters formed of horizontal and vertical lines.

The chief character of this kind of writing consists in having the summits, bases, and cross-strokes circumflexed. The letters are tall and elegant, with the words continuous; with thick oblique strokes, and slender vertical strokes; the letters upright; the F and L rising above the line; the A without a cross-stroke; the middle bar of the E extending on each side of the perpendicular stroke; the H nearly resembling K†; and the U and V triangular. Some of the letters are conjoined in the body of the text, but more commonly at the end of lines. In the middle of the thirteenth line is a correction much more recent than the text itself. Although the words are not separated, the text is not difficult to be read,

HYMNUS CIRCA EXSEQUIAS DEFUNCTI.
DEUS IGNE E[T] FONS ANIMARUM
DUO QUI SOCIANS ELEMENTA, etc.

On the whole, the manuscript is certainly one of the most ancient as well as most elegant productions of the graphic art in Latin Europe.

* This peculiar form of the H has occurred previously in the facsimiles taken from the Vatican Terence and Sallust, Plates C., CIII.—ED.

PLATE CVII.

MAJUSCULE AND UNCIAL LATIN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

HOMILIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE ON PAPYRUS.

THE series of specimens of ancient Latin writing in the present work would not be complete were we to omit the facsimile represented in this Plate. It is copied from one of the most precious manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, which formerly belonged to the collection of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près. The volume consists of sixty-four leaves, of a small folio size, arranged in gatherings of two, three, or four sheets, and written on Egyptian papyrus, well made and preserved; each gathering inserted in a sheet of vellum, which thus forms the first and last leaf, and serves to support the weakness of the papyrus.

Another manuscript upon papyrus, containing also the Homilies of Augustine, and sometimes confounded with the former, was described by Mabillon in his treatise *De Re Diplomatica*, as existing in the library of Paul Petau, the most valuable portion of which was purchased by Queen Christina of Sweden, and subsequently given by her to the Vatican library. Winckelmann searched in vain for it there, and publicly expressed his regret at not having been able to discover this manuscript in the Vatican. It is certain however, that the volume was not amongst those purchased by Queen Christina. It had previously belonged to the ancient Benedictine library of Fleury-sur-Loire, and was in the number of those retained by the family of Paul Petau, which

were afterwards acquired by M. Ami Lullin, of Geneva, in the public library of which city the manuscript has long been preserved*.

The Paris manuscript appears, from a comparison with the fac-simile given by Mabillon of the one at Geneva, to be so entirely identical therewith in all respects, as to lead to the supposition that both originally formed one and the same volume.

The manuscript before us came from the abbey of St. Just, at Narbonne, and Montfaucon supposed, that it was written for that abbey. In 1681, however, it belonged to a lady of the family of Phimarcon, and forty years afterwards became part of the rich treasures in the library of St. Germain des Près at Paris.

The fac-simile represents an entire page of this splendidly written manuscript, in which an elegant Roman majuscule is united with a solid and regular Gallican uncial letter. The text forms part of the 127th Homily (tom. v., col. 620, of the complete Works of St. Augustine, published at Paris in 1679, in 8 vols. folio). The first and second lines are written in Roman capitals, nearly regular, with the bases thickened and truncated; some of the cross-strokes being forked or curved downwards; a few of the letters are written within each other, and the O is lozenge-shaped. In the second line, a very tall L of the uncial form is introduced among the capitals, which, moreover, exhibit other caprices of the scribe. These two lines and the one following, compose the title of the homily.

The first line of the text is also written in fine, gigantic, tall, close, thin, Roman capital letters, with the bases and summits truncated, or bent into hooks, somewhat like the rustic letters. The O is remarkable, being composed of three

* See the *Catalogue raisonné des Manuscrits de la Bibl. de Geneve*, par J. Senebier. 8vo. Geneve, 1779, p. 69.—Ed.

lozenges within one another; and of the two A's in this line, the first approaches the cursive form, having its left-hand stroke transformed into a triangular appendage, attached to the middle of the thick stroke; whilst the second has its top ornamented with a curved traverse, and its middle cross-stroke is formed of two lines angulated, with the point downwards.

The remainder of the text is written in massive round uncial letters, continuous, but regularly spaced. Some marks of punctuation occur, but the color of the ink in which they are written and their ill-shape prove them to be subsequent additions to the text. Small blank spaces and letters rather larger than the text, indicate the commencement of the paragraphs. The letter T has its basal stroke extended to the right, and often conjoined with the letter following; there are also some conjoined letters at the end of the lines. The text itself is an excellent specimen of the Gallican uncial of the sixth century.

PLATE CVIII.

UNCIAL ROMAN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

THE LIVY OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA.

THE distinction established by the learned Benedictines between *capital* and *uncial* writing is so well marked, as to leave no doubts to an attentive inquirer. It consists in the former being composed of lines for the most part vertical or horizontal, whilst in the latter they are chiefly rounded, and exhibit a decided tendency towards greater expedition in the style. This is manifested more especially in the letters

B, D, E, G, H, I, L, M, O, T, V, X, as may be seen in the present fac-simile, taken from a manuscript of the Roman historian Titus Livius, in the Imperial library at Vienna, No. 15.

The rare antiquity of this volume* proves that the proscription fulminated against the writings of Livy at the end of the sixth century, did not reach all the manuscripts then existing, since the one before us is judged to be of that date. The writing in it exhibits a regular, full-stroke, moderate sized, close, semi-angular, uncial character, with the words not divided. A more minute examination of the letters will prove, that this manuscript presents to us nearly all the marks which have been pointed out by the most celebrated palæographers, as indicating a great antiquity, as follows:—

1. The initial letters of the *alineæ* are uncials, and not capital letters. Thus, the first letter of the text of the fac-simile is of a pure uncial form; and as the custom of commencing the *alineæ* of uncial manuscripts with capital letters was not generally adopted until the eighth century (an instance rarely occurs in the seventh,) it follows that the manuscript of Livy is anterior to this usage.

2. In the most ancient uncial manuscripts no punctuation is found; nor is there a trace of it in the Livy. A few dots only occur, which indicate abbreviations, or letters used as cyphers.

3. The most ancient manuscripts exhibit no separation

* It is of a large octavo size, and consists of 193 leaves, containing the books 1—5 of the 5th Decade of Livy, which were first printed by Simon Grynæus from this manuscript, at Basle, in 1531. One of the most interesting facts connected with this volume, is omitted by MM. Champollion, but pointed out by Dr. Endlicher, in the *Catal. Codd. philolog. Lat. Bibl. Palat. Vindob.* 4to. 1836, p. 49, namely, that a note in it records its having belonged to the Anglo-Saxon monk and Bishop, Suidbert, one of the companions of Wilbrord in his mission to Friesland, about the year 693, (See Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* l. v., c. ii.) who is conjectured to have carried the manuscript with him abroad, either from Ireland or England. Its subsequent history is traced by Endlicher.—Ed.

between the words, as is the case also with the volume before us.

4. The letters are generally wider than tall, as in the specimen.

5. A manuscript destitute of ornamental letters at the head of the titles or chapters, and of initial letters of a larger size than those of the text, but which, on the contrary, are of the simplest form, is to be regarded as very ancient, and not later than the sixth century, more especially if written in uncials. It would be difficult to find a volume more simply written than the one before us; the initial letter not being larger than if it had been the first letter in a page, which is itself a sign of great antiquity.

6. A text commencing with three or four lines in red (the other characters of age being also present) carry a manuscript back at least to the sixth century; and such is the case with the volume before us.

7. When the orthography of an uncial manuscript, as compared with the usual orthography, is regular,—the differences being very slight, and very few errors found,—it is to be referred also to the fifth or sixth century. The orthography of the Livy is extremely regular; the Æ is never supplied by E; P replaces B in the word OPTINERENT, and the word EXSERCITIBVS, in the third line, is a peculiarity of ancient Latin orthography contemporary with the age of Augustus.

8. The Latin orthography becomes irregular, faulty, and barbarous, in proportion as an uncial manuscript is further removed from the fifth century, and approaches the period of the reformation of Roman literature by Charlemagne. Now the present manuscript preserves all the pure forms of the Roman literature, and this essential character must therefore be added to those previously enumerated, as confirming the opinion of the learned librarians of Vienna, who have attributed this volume to the sixth century.

We may observe, in regard to its execution, that scarcely any of the letters have the summits or tails above or below the level of the line. In general the vertical strokes end in a point, and the strokes above the line are thickened at the top, and bent to the left; the transverse of the T is very short, and circumflexed, and its base not truncated, but, like the L, bent inwards by a hair-stroke, becoming almost like cursive *l* and *t**. The letters E and A are irregularly formed, and in general the scribe has not exercised that perfection which would have retarded his pen.

The top lines are to be read, L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS M. POPILIUS LAENAS, CUM OMNIUM PRIMUM DE PROVINCIS, *etc.*, which form the commencement of the first chapter of the 42nd book of the history of Livy.

PLATE CIX.

ROMAN UNCIAL WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

THE THEODOSIAN CODE, FROM THE LIBRARY OF DE ROSNY.

THE *Theodosian Code*, or redaction of Roman law, which for a long time regulated the legislation of the ancient world, was drawn up by a council of jurisconsults under the direction of Pulcheria, who reigned in the name of her weak brother the Emperor Theodosius. It consisted of a collection of the Constitutions published by the emperors after the time of Constantine, and was promulgated in the year 438, as a

* It must be observed, that the same forms of the *t* and *l* occur in the fac-simile of Cicero's treatise *De Republica*, assigned to the *third* century, in Plate XCVII.—ED.

system of jurisprudence to be adopted throughout the empire. It was composed of sixteen books. A century afterwards Justinian drew up another code of laws, which supplanted that of Theodosius, upon which it was founded.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century, the latter part only of the Theodosian Code, comprising the Books IX.—XVI., was known, but by a fortunate discovery, the end of Book VI., and Books VII., and VIII. were then recovered; since which time only some few fragments have been added to them.

The manuscript which contained the text of Books VI., VII., and VIII., (of the early history of which we have no account,) fell into the hands of the jurisconsult Etienne Charpin, who communicated it to the celebrated Cujas, by whom it was published in 1566, in his edition of the Theodosian Code*. This manuscript (from which the specimen in the Plate is copied) subsequently† passed into the library of the brothers Pithou; the younger of whom, François, gave it to his nephew Pierre Pithou, as appears by the following note on the first fly-leaf of the volume:—"*Hoc vetustissimum exemplar librorum vi., vii., et viii., Codicis Theodosiani, quo V. C. Cujacius in edendo eo libro usus est, dono mihi dedit V. C. Franciscus Pithoeus, patruus, anno MDCXX.* (Signed) PITHOU."

The manuscript of the Theodosian Code was thus lost to the literary world, and its importance and value not known, for Cujas had neither mentioned its antiquity nor early history, but contented himself with simply acknowledging his obligations to Charpin for the loan of it‡.

From that time until the year 1837 this volume remained unnoticed; when it unexpectedly made its appearance amongst

* Lyon, Rovilles, *à l'écu de Venise*, 1566, folio.

† It was given by Cujas to François Pithou in 1620.—ED.

‡ "E quibus primam gratiam habeo Stephano Charpino, a quo inventi et proditi sunt hi libri VI. VII. VIII."—*Præf.*

other valuable manuscripts, in the library of the Duchess de Berri*, which was then sold by auction, and the manuscript before us was purchased, against competitors from Germany and England, for the Bibliothèque Royale, at the price of 5,600 francs. (225*l.*) It is a quarto volume, nearly square, being ten inches high by nine wide, written upon strong vellum, the pages of which are whiter on one side than the other. It consists of 122 leaves, the two first and the two last being almost destroyed; many of the others also have had the outer margin mended. It is bound in plain parchment, as were nearly all the manuscripts in the Pithou library, but it is now enclosed in a red morocco case.

The fac-simile in the plate represents the exact size of one of the pages of the manuscript, all of which are written in long lines. The title is in uncial capitals, taller than wide, but unequal; it is to be read—

DE TABULARIIS LOGOGRAFIS ET CENSUALIB[*us*].

The words *lib.* 8, in a modern cursive hand, indicate that this page is part of the eighth book of the *Code*. This note is in the hand-writing of Cujas, who has added many others on the margins of the volume, chiefly consisting of the additions of letters, to supply those which had been destroyed by damp at the end of the lines.

The text is written in elegant uncial Roman letters, with thick strokes, slightly mingled with demi-uncial letters, and with the words not divided; without either bases or summits; the tailed letters turning to the left; the *alineæ* extended beyond the perpendicular line, with initials in uncials, instead of capitals; with some marks in the margin, but without any punctuation; the single point indicating only an abbreviation.

The fac-simile is to be thus read:—

* *Catalogue de la riche Bibliothèque de Rosny*, Paris, 1837, 8vo. p. 211, No. 2383.

IMP.[*erator*] CONSTANTIUS Ā[*ugustus*] AD CATULLINUM P̄P̄O.[*præceptio.*] NULLUS OMNINO
EX* TABULARIIS, VEL SCRIBIS, VEL DECARIONIB[*us*], EORUMQ[*ue*] FILIIS
IN QUOCUMQ[*ue*] OFFICIO MILITET, SED EX OMNIB[*us*] OFFICIIS NECNON
ET SI INTRA NOSTRUM PALATIUM MILITENT, NEC DUM INPLETO QUINQUENNIO, REPERTI ET RETRACTI PROTINUS CURIIS OFFICIISQ[*ue*] MUNICIPALIB[*us*] REDDANTUR. DĀT[*a*] VIII. KAL.[*endarum*] JUL.[*ii*], LAURIACO MARCELLINO ET PROBINO CONS̄S̄[*consulibus*].
IMPP. [*Imperatores*] VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS ĀĀ [*Augusti*] AD ARTEMIUM VIC̄UM [*Vicarium*] HISPANIARUM. SI QUI TABULARIORUM NECESSITATE PERFUNCTI VEL ADSPIRARE COEPERINT AD CURIAS VEL VOCARI, NON PRIUS EOS ORDO SUSCIPIAT, QUAM FIDELITER DEDERINT ADMINISTRATORUM SUO TEMPORE CHARTULARUM APUT ACTA RATIONEM. DĀT[*a*] KAL[*endis*] JUN[*ii*] TRIŪ[*m*] VALENTINIANO ET VALENTE III. [*tertium*] ĀĀ [*Augustis*] C̄S̄S̄ [*consulibus*].
IMPPP. [*Imperatores*] GRATIANUS, VALENTINIANUS ET THEODOSIUS ĀĀĀ [*Augusti*] NEOTERIO
P̄P̄O. [*præceptio.*] CONPERIMUS ALIQUANTOS RELICTIS MUNERIB[*us*] CURIARUM
SCRIBAS, SED ET LOGOGRAFOS CIVITATUM IN NOMEN INREPSISSE MILITAE, HIS RETRACTUS LEGEM HANC TULIMUS NE, QUIS EX HOC HOMINUM NUMERO PARIA AUDEAT USURPARE : HOC ADMODUM SUFFICIENTE NUMERO MILITIAE SUPPLEMENTIS†, QUI EX VAGIS VETERANORUMQ[*ue*]FILIIS VACANTIB[*us*] Q[*ue*]POTUERIT FIDA
PERVESTIGATIONE CONPLERI. DĀT[*a*] IIII. N̄ON̄.[*as*] FEB[*ruarii*] THESSALLONICA.

* The letter X is here of the peculiar form of the Gallican uncial writing.

† The letter B was originally written for the first P.

GRATIANO Ā [*Augusto*] V. [*quintum*] ET THEODOSIO Ā [*Augusto*] I. [*primum*] CONSS[*consulibus*].

ID. AAA [*Iidem Augusti*]. QUICUMQ[*ue*] DECURIONUM SPONTE SE CENSUALI MINISTERIO

MANCIPARIT, CONDICIONEM HABEAT QUAM IPSE DELEGIT, DEPOSITURUS SUI ORDINIS PAENITUS DIGNITATEM, SI EAM NECESSITAS QUAESTIONI SUBDENDUM INVENERIT. DAT[*a*] XV. KAL.[*endarum*] OCT[*obris*]

ꝐSTP [*Constantinopoli*], RICHOMERE ET CLEARCHO CONSS[*consulibus*].

The importance of this text (which differs, however, only in a few letters from that first published by Cujas) has induced us to give the transcription of the fac-simile entire. It must be considered of the highest interest to the jurisconsult, since it is the only known manuscript of this portion of the Theodosian code; and equally so to the palæographer, as a rare monument of writing not later than the sixth century. The beauty of the writing and the extreme accuracy of the text, united to the absence of abbreviations, have indeed caused it to be referred by some critics to the fifth century. At all events, it is one of the most precious manuscripts in the Bibliòtheque Royale, and is now for the first time noticed palæographically.

The acquisition of this volume excited great interest amongst the learned throughout Europe. The volume has been consulted by many, and especially by the Chevalier Baudi de Vesme, member of the Commission of National History of Turin, who having spent several months in its examination, has been enabled by chemical processes to revivify the ink in parts which had become obliterated, and thus by new readings to improve the text of Cujas to such an extent, as to induce him to undertake the publication of a new edition of this celebrated code.

PLATE CX.

UNCIAL GALLICAN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

THE PSALTER OF ST. GERMAIN, BISHOP OF PARIS.

THE splendid volume, which has supplied the present fac-simile, is one of the most remarkable and valuable monuments of the graphic art in existence, especially in regard to France; where, as in all the other countries in which the Latin language was current, the uncial writing was more generally employed in the sixth and seventh centuries than the minuscule or cursive. The Benedictines give various reasons for this practice. At first, the uncial letters appear to have been used only for liturgical books, and for such volumes as were written for persons of wealth; whilst the other two hands were employed for ordinary purposes. But towards the middle of the sixth century, the ignorance of the clergy and scribes had increased so much, as to cause the neglect of the smaller kinds of writing, which required greater skill, since it was easier for them to use the large characters, which demanded only time and patience. It was not until the renewal of letters, in the eighth century, that the minuscule and cursive kinds of writing again came into use.

The volume before us is a magnificent example of the uncial writing of the sixth century; and it is thus exactly described by the Benedictines:—

"This manuscript of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, No. 661, is the celebrated Gallican Psalter, which an ancient tradition affirms to have belonged to St. Germain, Bishop of

Paris, who died 28th May, A.D. 576. It is one of the rarest and most precious manuscripts in Europe. It is ten inches in height and eight and a half inches wide, and consists of 291 leaves, thirty-sixty gatherings and three leaves over. These gatherings are marked by numbers placed on the lower margin, as in the most ancient manuscripts. Over each of these numbers is a short stroke —, indicating an abbreviation. The vellum is stained of a purple-violet color, rather dingy in its tint, and the text is written in *silver* uncial letters, with the exception of the name of GOD, which is always in *gold.* Except after this sacred name, we find neither commas nor points. The words are not divided. The *diapsalma* (or rule for the chanting), in letters of gold, is always written in a separate line. In the margin is often written the letter R, cut through with a line, apparently to indicate the Responses to be made by the people. Some of the psalms are destitute of this mark, but others have two, in which the anthem or response were changed. This barred R therefore is intended for the word *Responsorium.* At the beginning of the manuscript is a note, written by Jacques de Breuil, in 1560, in which it is stated, that the volume had been long kept in the treasury among the relics, and was subsequently removed to the library, for the benefit of the learned. In the year 1269, the sacristan of St. Germain des Près includes in the catalogue of relics given to his charge, *The Psalter of St. Germain**."

The Benedictines add further, that the volume is written in uncial Gallican letters, with very full strokes, and that it possesses all the beauty and roundness of which uncial writing is susceptible. It is, indeed, most exquisitely proportioned, and carefully written; the letters large and neatly formed; the lower ends of the tailed-letters terminating in an oblique point; the first limb of the U is rounded; the letters are con-

* *Nouv. Tr. de Diplom.* tom. iii., p. 163.—ED.

joined only at the ends of a line, as in the word SUNT, at the end of the fourth line of the right-hand page of the fac-simile, whilst the V at the end of the bottom line of the same page (fol. 158 of the manuscript) is very small, and almost enclosed within the R*.

The division of the verses is according to the ancient rule; the words are not divided, and the orthography very incorrect; thus, we find *besteis* for *bestiis;* and throughout the text B and V, I and E, O and U are mutually substituted for each other. *Sacerdus* is written for *Sacerdos; lababo, benenum, vobes,* for *lavabo, venenum, boves,* etc., shewing the barbarism of the period when this manuscript was executed. Letters of silver, such as are employed in this manuscript, are far rarer than letters of gold; the former required vellum of a purple violet color, and cannot be preserved so well. This manuscript, which presents one of the finest specimens of the use of silver ink, exhibits also many proofs of its easy deterioration. Its great age, however, namely, the middle of the sixth century, must be taken into consideration.

* This is not a correct description. The small *v* at the end of the line, as well as the *u* (in two instances), are thus written, in order to save space, as appears also by the abbreviation of the letter *m,* indicated by the short stroke above.—ED.

PLATE CXI.

SEMI-UNCIAL LATIN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF LACTANTIUS, IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.

THE manuscript which has supplied the present fac-simile is one of the most celebrated of its class. At the end of the seventeenth century, it belonged to the Congregation of the Canons Regular of St. Saviour at Bologna, where it was examined by Mabillon in 1686, who describes it thus:—"The principal Latin manuscript of this library, which is of great antiquity, is one containing the *Institutiones* of Lactantius, together with the books *De Ira*, *De Opificio*, and the *Epitome;* it was written more than eleven hundred years ago, in square Latin letters, and subsequently revised and corrected in a smaller ancient Roman hand. Unfortunately the first two or three leaves are wanting, as well as the entire preface, so that we cannot determine whether the name of the Emperor Constantine was introduced into it*." Montfaucon also mentions this manuscript†, and has given a Greek and Latin alphabet from it: it has also been noticed by the learned Italians themselves‡. At the present time the volume belongs to the library of the University of Bologna.

* *Palæographia Græca*, p. 223.

† *Iter Italicum*, Part I., p. 196. The words *Constantinus Imperator*, which occur in the printed editions after *Gestio enim*, at the beginning of the second paragraph of the fac-simile, are not found in this manuscript.

‡ Leo Allatius, *Animadversiones in Antiquit. Etruscarum Fragmenta*, 4to. Par. 1640, pp. 51, 52.

Lucius Cælius Lactantius Firmianus, the author of the works contained in this volume, is one of the best of the Latin writers who flourished in the third and fourth centuries. Born in Africa, and a heathen, he was charged by Diocletian with the task of teaching polite literature at Nicomedia; but subsequently converted to Christianity, he travelled into Gaul, and it is believed, that Constantine the Great confided to him the education of his son Crispus. It is supposed also, that he died at Treves, about the year 325. The purity and elegance of his style have caused him to be named the Christian Cicero.

His chief work, the *Institutiones Divinæ*, is divided into seven books, the first of which treats of false religion, the second, of the origin of error; and it is the commencement of the latter which furnishes the subject of the fac-simile, from page 23 of the manuscript. The writing is very remarkable. The page is in double columns, without ornaments, and the *alineæ* commence with a larger letter than the text, written outside the vertical line of the column. Its general appearance would introduce it into the uncial series, but it is in reality only semi-uncial; not on account of its size being smaller than the ordinary uncial (so named from *uncia*, an inch, which was the height of the letters), but according to the definition laid down in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. ii., p. 506, where the term *uncial* is applied to writing in majuscule letters of a rounded form, (as distinguished from the rectangular Roman capitals,) and the term *semi-uncial* is given to the same kind of rounded majuscules, when intermixed with minuscules. This is the case in the manuscript under notice, as seen in the letters L, P, T, and H; and this kind of intermingled uncial writing is, in fact, more common than that in pure uncials, even in the most ancient manuscripts.

The letters of the fac-simile before us are formed of thick and thin strokes, generally upright; the tops of some of the

tall letters are bent, especially the *l*, and are obliquely truncated. The tailed letters descend below the line, and terminate in a point inclined towards the left; some of the straight strokes of the letters have their summits angular, and the G has a thin tail. On the whole, the writing is square, and as tall as broad; the words continuous, with scarcely any abbreviations, and some of the letters are conjoined at the end of the lines. The text is remarkably pure, another sign of great antiquity, and leads us to adopt the opinion of the Benedictines*, that the manuscript is as old as the sixth century.

The reading of this text presents no difficulty :—

QUAMQUAM PRIMO LIBRO
RELIGIONES DEORUM FALSAS
MONSTRAVERIM, QUOD II QUO-
RUM VARIOS DISSIMILESQUE
NAM CUM EXISTIMANT, NULLI DEO
ESSE NOS CURAE AUT POST MOR-
TEM NIHIL FUTUROS, TOTOS SE LI-
BIDINIBUS ADDICUNT, ET DUM LI-

The numerous *alineæ* deserve notice, consisting of so many complete paragraphs, the chief divisions of which are distinguished by an apostrophe placed above the line, and which is the only punctuation that occurs in the manuscript.

* This is the opinion of Mabillon, but Montfaucon places it in the *seventh* century. No opinion is given in the *Nouv. Tr. Dipl.*—Ed.

PLATE CXII.

UNCIAL GALLICAN WRITING.

VITH OR VIIITH CENTURY.

ABRIDGEMENT OF THE THEODOSIAN CODE, BY ALARIC.

In the observations on the manuscript of the Theodosian Code, recently obtained by the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, a brief account has been given of the origin of this code, promulgated in the year 438. The manuscript before us furnishes another important monument of this legislative enactment, as well as a remarkable circumstance connected with its history.

At the commencement of the sixth century, the Goths, or Visigoths, established previously on the banks of the sources of the Danube, had possessed for eighty years the kingdom which they had founded in southern Gaul, of which Toulouse was the capital. Alaric II. was then the sovereign, and concluded, in A.D. 504, a treaty of peace with Clovis, king of the Franks, the rupture of which, in 507, cost Alaric his life. He left behind him, however, a regular system of legislation, founded upon the Latin, the source of all good civil laws.

The Roman population, which then inhabited Gaul, was subject to the Burgundians, or Goths, who permitted them, nevertheless, to follow their own laws, when their suits did not interfere with the interests of their rulers. To regulate the application of these laws, it was necessary that an authentic official code should be promulgated. This was done by Gondebaud, or Thierry I, in the countries occupied by the Bur-

gundians, and by Alaric II. in the Visigothic territories. The latter caused extracts to be made from the Theodosian, Gregorian, and Hermogenian Codes, the Institutes of Gaius, and the Sentences of Paulus; and by order of the king, Anian, his chancellor, or *referendarius*, compiled this code, and probably signed the copies, in order to give them due authority. Hence the various names of the *Breviarium*, or Abridgment of Alaric, the *Breviarium* of Anian, and even of the Roman Law, under which this code has been hitherto known. It is true, that the customs of the barbarians were occasionally intermingled with the Roman policy, but everywhere the principles of equity and humanity were prominent, and this code must have tended materially to the amelioration of the Gallo-Roman population of the southern parts of France. It was promulgated in the year 506.

The fac-simile in the Plate is copied from a vellum manuscript of the *Breviarum Alarici*, now belonging to the royal library of Munich, but formerly in the library of the cathedral of Wurtzburg. The page before us contains the text of the Theodosian law, with the interpretations of Anian. The first paragraph, commencing SI QUIS MORIENS, is the interpretation by Anian of the law *Quæ Codicillis aut Epistolis* of the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius; and the second paragraph, commencing TESTAMENTUM NON IDEO INFIRMARI DEBEBIT, is the law following of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, addressed to Æternalis, the proconsul of Asia.

The text itself, from its great age, is very worthy of the attention of palæographers and jurisconsults*. It is written in uncial letters, and is attributed by the *savants* of Munich to the sixth, or at least the seventh century, whilst the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*

* See the *Histoire du Droit Romain*, by M. Berriat Saint-Prix, Paris, 1821, pp. 206–208, and *Codex Theodosianus, curante J. Cujacio*, Lugduni, 1566, folio, p. 62.

assign it to the eighth century*, from the form of its Teutonic capitals.

In its general appearance the writing is regular, and of correct proportions, but the letters are generally taller than wide, and written in lines at equal distances apart. It was indeed during the eighth century, in the time of Charlemagne, that the uncial writing recovered its ancient elegance. Moreover, the two *alineæ* commence with two large letters, which are rather ornamental Roman capitals than uncials; and it was during the eighth century that these capitals were thus introduced as initials of the texts written in uncial letters. These two remarks do not apply to the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Royale, which is, in fact, older than the Munich manuscript. The writing of the latter is in upright, equal, continuous, broad, massive Gallican uncial letters, with the round letters large; the tails long and acute; the up-strokes thick and truncated, with the tips slightly inclining to the left; the R, F, and I extending below the line, the top of the T curved, the strokes of the C, E, M, S, and O not united, the Q open at top, the N very wide, and the L almost cursive in form, with the up-stroke very high.

The text contains some various readings, and is destitute of punctuation and abbreviations, except at the end of some of the lines, and in the title of the second paragraph, which is to be read, IMPERATORES ARCADIUS ET HONORIUS AUGUSTI AETERNALI PROCONSULI ASIAE. The single word at the top of the page is intended for THEODOSIUS, mis-spelt THEUDOSIUS.

From these considerations, the volume may possibly be as late as the eighth century, at which period the Roman law was still maintained, although it is referred by the German literati to the sixth, as before stated.

* Tom. iii., p. 116. See also Jo. Fr. Schannat, *Vindemiæ Literariæ.* tom. i., Fuldæ, 1723, p. 228.

PLATE CXIII.

ROMAN CAPITAL AND GALLICAN UNCIAL WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

THE EPIGRAMS OF SAINT PROSPER.

THE manuscript from which the present fac-simile has been copied, is an ancient exemplar of the poetical works of Prosper of Aquitaine, a disciple of St. Augustine, a famous doctor of the Church, and who died, illustrious among the saints, in the middle of the fifth century. The volume is considered one of the most valuable in the Bibliothèque Royale, at Paris, both on account of its age, and as a rare specimen of Latin calligraphy. It appears to have belonged to this library in 1757*, but at an earlier period to the library at Sedan, as proved by these words being written on the fly-leaf, *Bibliothecæ Sedanensis; ex dono Christophori Justelli.* Christopher Justel died in 1649. Previous to this time it belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Fleury, or St. Benoit-sur-Loire, as inferred from an obliterated note mentioned by the Benedictines, and read by them, *Hic est liber Sancti Benedicti Abbatis, dicti Floriacensis monasterii.* This inscription is not now to be found in the volume, which was probably stolen from that abbey in the year 1562, during the religious war in France. An advocate of Orleans, Pierre Daniel, bailiff of Fleury, took possession of the manuscripts which remained in the monastery after its pillage, with the intention of remitting them to Cardinal de Châtillon, Abbé of that house. They remained in his pos-

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* tom. iii. p. 50, published in 1757.

session, however, until his death, when they were sold to Pétau and Bongard. Those purchased by the latter subsequently passed into the library of the Prince Palatine, and, after the capture of Heidelberg in 1622, they were presented by the Duke of Bavaria to Pope Gregory XV, who placed them in the Vatican. The manuscripts bought by Pétau were subsequently sold to Queen Christina of Sweden, who also gave them to the Pope, and thus the greater part of the manuscripts of the abbey of Fleury are now in the Vatican library. The manuscript of St. Prosper became an exception, from its having been probably stolen by a Calvinist, and has thus been happily restored to France.

The plate offers an exact fac-simile of the first page of this manuscript, commencing with the Christian formula of a cross between the letters A and ω, *alpha* and *omega*, at the beginning and end of the first line, which is to be read INCP.[*Incipit*] PRAEFATIO LIBRI EPIGRAMMATORVM SCI [*sancti*] PROSPERI. This line is written in rather elegant massive Roman capitals of the rustic form, with short oblique summits and bases, and with a few of the top-strokes long and curved. Such is also the character of the writing of the rubricated titles, after the text of the preface, such as DE VERA INNOCENTIA.—EPIGRAMMA.—DE HOMINIBUS DILIGENDIS.

This preface, as well as the two epigrams given in the fac-simile, are, on the contrary, in elegant Gallican uncial writing, with full strokes, and continuous; the letters wide apart, the tails obliquely cut off, and, at the ends of the lines, the letters smaller and conjoined. The first epigram commences with the two following verses, (each epigram being preceded by a Latin sentence, generally taken from St. Augustine, and forming its subject.)

PERFECTE BONUS EST, ET VERE DICITUR INSONS,
NEC SIBI NEC CUIQUAM QUOD NOCEAT FACIENS.

Here we may notice, 1. the arrangement of the verses,

the hexameter being indented, as adopted at the present day; 2. the conjunction of the letters N and T, and the abbreviation Q. for QUE, but above all, the beautiful execution of the manuscript, which is written on the finest white vellum. Hence the volume may be regarded as a production of the sixth, or at the latest, of the seventh century.

PLATE CXIV.

RUSTIC CAPITAL AND ROMAN UNCIAL WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

THE AMIATINE LATIN BIBLE.

THIS fine manuscript, two specimens of which are represented in the fac-simile on the upper part of the Plate, possesses a considerable reputation in Italy, on account of its beauty and antiquity, as also in consequence of the various opinions which have been suggested as to its age, origin, and history. It contains the Old and New Testament, according to the Vulgate version, and is very finely written upon choice vellum.

The *Amiatine Bible* is preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence, and is thus named from having formerly belonged to the Cistercian monastery of St. Saviour, on Mount Amiati, near Chiusi, in Tuscany; at the dissolution of which, the most precious of its manuscripts were added to the Laurentian library by order of the Grand Duke, Peter-Leopold I. The *verso* of the first leaf is occupied by an arch, supported by two columns, within which were formerly inscribed certain verses, which have been supposed to contain the name of the scribe, as well as that of the pope or church to whom it was

presented. Of the latter only the letter E remains, which probably formed part of the name of the pontiff, addressed in the words, *Quem caput ecclesiæ dedicat alta fides*, on which name numberless conjectures have been formed, supposing it to be Petrus, Benedictus, or Gregorius, but without any certainty*. In the eleventh century, this volume was unhesitatingly considered as having been written entirely by the hand of St. Gregory the Great.

The second leaf of the volume is of purple vellum, written with gold, but now nearly effaced; a preface, however, is still legible, recommending the perusal of the Scriptures. At the end of Exodus are inscribed the following Greek words, in barbarous orthography, **Ο ΚΥΡΙC CЄΡΒΑΝΔΟC ΑΙΠΟΙΗCЄΝ**, *Dominus Servandus fecit*, which have occasioned many conjectures:—that they commemorate the name of the scribe; that he was named *Servandus;* that he was the deacon of that name, of whom St. Gregory speaks in his *Dialogues*, who was abbot of the monastery founded by Liberius Patricius, in Campania, and who, having visited St. Benedict at Monte Cassino, was witness of the miraculous translation, by angels, of the soul of Germanus, the Bishop of Capua. The age of the manuscript, admitting it to be of the seventh century, wholly destroys these suggestions, since St. Gregory died in the year 604, and speaks historically in his Dialogues of the Deacon Servandus, the visitor of St. Benedict, who died in the year 543.

The fac-simile represents two pages of this Bible. The first indicates the commencement of the Book of Numbers, INCIPIT LIBER NUMERORUM QUI APPELLATUR HEBRAICE VAIEDDABER, followed by the words GLORIA INDIVIDUAE TRINITATI. AMEN., and is written in tall, irregular, inelegant,

* See the Dissertation on this manuscript by Bandini, inserted in the *Bibl. Leopoldino-Laurentiana*, tom. i. col. 701–732. He considers it to be of the sixth century.—Ed.

rustic Roman capitals, with the words divided, mingled with some uncials truncated at the base, and the summits simple or bent; the V, U, and N, with strokes below the line; the cross-strokes of the E not truncated; the A generally without the bar, and the thick stroke topping over the thinner; most of the angles of the letters being turned upwards into a kind of hook. Such a writing may be of all ages, either original or by imitation; but, from the union of its various characters, the volume may be referred to the seventh century.

The writing of the second page in the Plate is in a fine, thick, and large uncial letter, regular, and obliquely cut at the ends, except where they terminate in hooks, which is a leading feature of the writing before us. The letters L, F, and Y, rise above the lines, and there is no mixture of demi-uncials; another reason why the writing should be assigned to the seventh century.

In the fac-simile at the lower part of the Plate, copied from one of the Vatican manuscripts, No. 3836, we find less antiquity in the forms of the letters B, S, G, E, N, R, A, and in the elongation of the very pointed tails. Hence this manuscript has been generally attributed to the eighth century*.

* It contains Homilies of the Fathers, and the specimen in the Plate is a portion of a Discourse of St. Augustine *in Natale Sanctorum Maccabeorum, iiii. kal. August.*, beginning, *Si velimus, fratres dilectissimi*, etc. Compare Plate CXVI., where there is another fac-simile in the same handwriting.—ED.

PLATE CXV.

UNCIAL ROMAN WRITING.

VIITH CENTURY.

THE FLORENTINE PANDECTS OF THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY.

THE history of this manuscript, precious alike by its contents and its age, fully justifies the thought of the Latin poet, *Et habent sua fata libelli.* It comprises the *Pandects*, a considerable portion of the body of Roman jurisprudence, compiled from the decisions of the ancient jurisconsults, by order of Justinian, who gave to it the force of law. It forms two volumes of nearly square form, written upon white vellum, and so fine, that it curls up with the mere warmth of the hand. It is splendidly bound in purple silk, with silver studs, and is kept inclosed in a rich case. Formerly it was preserved in the treasury of the Grand Duke, but is now deposited in the Laurentian library at Florence. Its possession is connected with the great events of the history of Italy during the twelfth century.

Written at Constantinople, the manuscript of the Pandects was carried, at an early period, to Amalfi, a maritime city of Naples, then celebrated for its commerce. When Lotharius II. declared himself in favor of Pope Innocent II., against the anti-Pope Anacletus, he brought the former to Rome, and caused him to place the crown on himself, as Emperor of the East, in the church of St. John Lateran, on the 4th June, 1133, and subsequently undertook to reduce all the cities of Italy which took the part of the anti-Pope. At the siege and capture of Amalfi in 1134, this manuscript was found among

the spoil, by a person named Warnher; and the Emperor presented it to his allies the inhabitants of Pisa. When Pisa fell into the power of the Florentines in 1406, the manuscript again formed part of the booty, and ever since, this precious volume has remained at Florence. It must be acknowledged, however, that the authenticity of this history has been disputed, although it rests on the testimony of a poet and an annalist, both of them Pisans, the latter of whom asserts that he possessed the act of donation, made by Lotharius to the town of Pisa. Long previous to the twelfth century, learned men are known to have used the most active zeal in the search after ancient texts, even of profane authors. In the middle of the ninth century, Lupus, the learned abbot of Ferrières, earnestly requested from the Pope and the bishops of England and Ireland, the loan of manuscripts of ancient writers, that copies might be made of them; and in 1040, Count Geoffroy of Anjou gave to the abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes the tithe of the hides of the deer killed in his forests, to furnish a fund to bind the books of the monastery*. By means of this kind copies of works were multiplied; the example of Lupus was imitated by others, and the statutes of several monastic orders prescribed the transcription of manuscripts, as a work of piety agreeable to God. Although therefore, at this early period the study of the Roman law had not yet been revived, yet, an ancient manuscript like the present, bearing on its title the name of an emperor of the East, and which was probably splendidly bound, would doubtless appear to be an object of value, and worthy of preservation. After its deposition at Florence, this volume was long regarded almost with religious veneration, and shewn only to the highest personages, with great ceremony, in the presence of the chief magistrate, accompanied by monks, bare-headed,

* *MS. Cartulary of the Abbey of Saintes*, pp. i., vii., and xvii., *recto.*

and bearing lighted tapers; and even at the present time, its examination is attended with certain precautions.

The fac-simile in the Plate exhibits the various styles of writing employed in the manuscript; the first page of which represents one of the titles in capital Roman letters, mingled with uncials, with the bases, summits, and cross-strokes very short, and with some of the letters slightly elevated above the rest. It is to be read, EXPL.[*icit*] DIG[*estorum*] SEU PANDECTAR[*um*] EXORD[*ium*] LIB[*er*] QUINTUS: DE JUD[*iciis*] AUTEM LIB[*er*] PRIMUS. FELICITER.

The lower inscription, in Greek capitals written in vermilion, consists of the six following words, ΕΥΤΥΧΩC ΤΩ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ. FELICITER. *i. e. Happiness to him who has written this book.*

The formula of *feliciter*, which terminates both these inscriptions, is very ancient, and indicates that the scribe rejoiced at the completion of his labors, rather than that the volume was written in a period of good fortune, or, that he was in health and prosperity, as suggested by some critics. It has, however, passed from manuscripts to diplomas and other public acts; and sometimes in the former it is used instead of the word *explicit*, which is generally opposed to the *incipit* placed at the beginning of the text. The right-hand page of the Plate commences with the words, INCIPIT LIBER VII. The rubricated title is written in negligent Roman rustic capitals, mingled with uncials, and is to be read, R. [*Rubrica*] DE USUFRUCTU ET QUEMAMODUM QUIS UTATUR FRUATUR. R. This is followed by the text itself, written in the ancient uncial character, with the words continuous, and the letters detached, rustic, and angular. It is as follows:—

PAULUS LIBRO TERTIO AD VITELLIUM. USUSFRUCTUS EST JUS ALIENIS REBUS UTENDI, FRUENDI, SALVA RERUM SUBSTANTIA.

*CELSUS** LIBRO OCTAVO DECIMO DIGESTORUM. EST
ENIM USUSFRUCTUS JUS IN CORPORE QUO SU-
BLATO ET IPSUM TOLLI NECESSE EST.
GAIUS LIBRO SECUNDO RERUM COTTIDIANARUM
VEL AUREORUM. OMNIUM PRAEDIORUM JURE
LEGATI POTEST CONSTITUI USUSFRUCTUS, UT
HERES JUBEATUR DARE ALICUI USUMFRUCTŪ[*m*].
DARE AUTEM INTELLEGITUR SI INDUXERIT IN
FUNDUM LEGATARIUM EUMVE PATIATUR† UTI
FRUI ET SINE‡ TESTAMENTO AUTEM SI QUIS VE-
LIT USUMFRUCTUM CONSTITUERE PACTIONIBUS §
ET STIPULATIONIBUS ID EFFICERE POTEST. CON-
STITIT AUTEM USUSFRUCTUS NON TANTEM IN FŪ[*n*-]
DO ET AEDIBUS, VERUM ETIAM IN SERVIS, ET JU-
MENTIS CETERISQUE REBUS. NE TAMEN IN UNI-
VERSUM INUTILES ESSENT PROPRIAETATES SĒ[*m*-]
PER ABSCEDENTE|| USUFRUCTU, PLACUIT CERTIS
MODIS EXTINGUI USUMFRUCTUM ET PROPRIAE-
TATEM¶ REVERTI**. QUIBUS AUTEM MODIS USUSFRU-
CTUS ET CONSTITIT ET FINITUR, ISDEM MODIS
ETIAM NUDUS USUS SOLET ET CONSTITUI ET FI-
NIRI.

The great importance of such a manuscript has led some writers to suggest that it was entirely written by the hand of the Emperor Justinian. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the head of a state should so occupy himself. It will be seen, that the abbreviations are extremely rare, consisting

* The names of the jurisconsults quoted are written in red letters.

† In this word is a correction of A for O.—ED.

‡ The scribe here corrects the V by N.

§ Another correction, the scribe having at first written RATIONIBUS.

|| The letter N is suppressed in this word, after ABSCE.

¶ The A in the middle of this word is here effaced, but it is retained in the line above.

** Here is another correction, V for C.

merely in the suppression of a letter, such as the replacing of *m* by a stroke; and this is a mark of the great antiquity of the volume, which is not much later* than the reign of Justinian himself, who died in 565; the scribe having conformed to the injunctions of the Emperor against the employment of notes and abbreviations in the text, even to express numbers†.

We must not omit to notice, that this volume has always been regarded as the most valuable of the manuscripts of the Roman Law, and has been appealed to by the most learned jurisconsults to decide the purity of the text. One of the most celebrated among them, Cujas, travelled to Florence expressly to consult the volume, where the Grand Duke Cosmo I. refused to allow him the loan of the work, although he offered as a security, the personal guarantee of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and an indemnity of two thousand crowns of gold. It is said, that this refusal caused his death, and thus deprived the learned world of a new edition of the Pandects, meditated by him.

* In the Plate and heading, the manuscript is marked as of the *seventh* century.—Ed.

† Berriat-Saint-Prix, *Histoire du Droit Romain,* Paris 1821, 8vo., pp. 208, 234, et seq.

PLATE CXVI.

UNCIAL LATIN WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

PALIMPSEST ARIAN FRAGMENTS AND HOMILIES OF THE FATHERS, IN THE LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN.

THE manuscript represented in the lower division of this Plate, is a volume of Homilies of the Fathers of the Church, selected to be read on the feast-days throughout the year. The other fac-simile represents a fragment from one of two volumes, in which, beneath the text of the Council of Chalcedon, written in the eighth century, are preserved some most ancient palimpsest Latin writings, which had been previously partially erased, to make room for the Acts of the Council.

These two fac-similes are here figured together, in order to allow of a comparison between them; both belonging to the same class of writing, but yet forming different examples of it.

The volume of Homilies bears the No. 3835, among the Vatican manuscripts, and is noticed by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum*, vol. ii., p. 110.

The fac-simile at the lower part of the Plate is taken from page 240, being the commencement of the Office of St. Peter the Apostle, as indicated in the head-lines, written with red and black ink in a very fine large uncial character, mixed with Roman capitals often cut off diagonally at the base; the letters tall and close, but broad and round; some are floreated, and others have the bases of the strokes dilated towards the right. The words of the top line are separated

by large triangular points. The text commences with a gigantic P, formed of three outline strokes, leaving the middle one open; the top outwardly ornamented with a scroll, and the bottom terminating obliquely, with the outer line elongated into a volute; the body of the letter forming a perfect circle, the outer part of which is slightly tessellated, and the centre ornamented with a rose. The text of this Homily is written in fine Roman uncials, nearly continuous, with truncated summits and bases, mixed with Roman capitals; the tails pointed, the cross-strokes and strokes above the line, angular, and sometimes ornamented with hooks; the B with the top angular, and the P closed; without any mixture of cursive letters, and with some corrections in the text; proving that the volume had been revised. We thus find in this manuscript all the characters of the writing of the end of the seventh century*.

In the upper fac-simile in the Plate we do not find the same characters; there are no Roman capitals, and a more expeditious style is apparent in the forms of the A, C, F, I, L, S, T, U, and V; the round E is closed at the top, and the P is open, the ends of the rounded part not being united to the upright stroke. The text is divided into paragraphs, each of which commences with a large uncial letter, outside of the perpendicular.

This volume was first noticed by the Cardinal Mai. A Latin text of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, held A.D. 451, filled two manuscript volumes, one of which belonged to the Ambrosian library at Milan, the other, to the Vatican

* Had the French editors taken the trouble to compare this fac-simile with one previously given in Plate CXIV., from the Vatican MS. 3836, they would have avoided an inconsistency of some moment The latter is attributed to the *eighth* century, and is out of place in the chronological series, But it is quite certain, that *both* these fac-similes proceed from *the same hand*, which wrote the Vatican MSS. 3835, 3836, forming two volumes of the *same collection of Homilies*.—ED.

library (No. 5750); both written in the eighth century over a more ancient text, which had been divided and effaced, and which contained various dogmatical treatises, composed by a follower of the Arian heresy. The volume at Rome is more complete in regard to the original text than that of Milan, and the learned Cardinal has not hesitated (notwithstanding their heterodoxy) to publish these fragments, which possess interest in reference to ecclesiastical history. It is from the Vatican manuscript that the upper fac-simile has been copied. The text is in two columns, and some of the letters at the end of the lines are smaller than the others. There are but few abbreviations, and the word *adseruerunt* is written for *asseruerunt*, according to the ancient orthography. All the palæographical characters of this manuscript prove it to be at least as ancient as the volume of Homilies, and in Italy it is considered to be of the fifth or sixth century*.

PLATE CXVII.

UNCIAL ROMAN WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

THE LATIN GOSPELS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE-DAME AT PARIS.

In the middle of the last century the cathedral church of Notre-Dame at Paris, possessed a collection of more than 300 manuscripts of great palæographical value, obtained from various sources, especially from the library bequeathed to it by Claude Joly, one of the chanters of the cathedral,

* This fac-simile is undoubtedly a century older than the volume of Homilies.—Ed.

and nephew to the jurisconsult Loysel. Under circumstances of need this collection was sold by the Chapter to the King, in the year 1756, and deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale by MM. Malherbe, the librarian, and Thierry, chancellor of the University. Among these manuscripts were two celebrated copies of the history of Gregory of Tours, of the seventh or eighth century, one in Merovingian, the other in Gallican uncial characters, together with the volume which has furnished the specimen in the present plate. It is of a folio size, written upon vellum, two columns in a page, ruled vertically with a hard point, some of the faded pages of which have been retraced with very black ink. It contains the Latin Gospels, in the version of St. Jerome, together with the prologues of this celebrated translator.

The fine and regular execution of this manuscript attracts immediate attention, and a slight examination will discover its leading graphical characteristics. The writing is uncial, and we also see that the first initial letter B of large size, with fine hair-strokes, and the bows of unequal size, is of the uncial, and not the capital form; a mark of great antiquity, since the custom of commencing the *alineæ* with *capitals*, in *uncial* or *minuscule* manuscripts, did not become common until the eighth or end of the seventh century*.

The manuscript commences with three lines written in red, another mark of high antiquity, according to the Benedictines†, as shewn in the Vatican and Florence Virgils, and the St. Cyprian and St, Augustine of the Bibliothèque Royale. Moreover, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the titles, rather than the commencement of the works, were in red, whereas, a contrary practice prevailed in the fifth and sixth centuries‡.

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. ii. p. 142, *n.* 1.

† *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 110, *n.* 2.

‡ It must be remarked, that the age assigned to this manuscript (the seventh century) forms an exception to the rule stated in the text above. —Ed.

The orthography of this manuscript is not corrupt, but very regular, if we except only the substitution of the B for P, and some traces of the ancient rules, as in *adsumserit;* a characteristic mark of a text anterior to the corruption which Charlemagne undertook to correct. The writing is in Roman uncials, but subsequent to the period of its greatest elegance. The second age of this writing, which is only the Roman capital rounded, appears in this manuscript; it is the Roman uncial, massive and rustic, wider than tall, with the bases and summits truncated; the tail short, the tops of some elevated considerably; the A of a remarkable form; the summit of the T traversed by a short stroke, bent at each end, and the middle stroke of the E terminating in an ill-formed dot. The words generally are not divided, except where a blank space is left instead of punctuation; the marks which separate some of the phrases serving as guides for reading in public. This fac-simile forms the commencement of the general Preface of St. Jerome to the Gospels, addressed to Pope Damasus, to whom St. Jerome returned in the year 382, and to whom he was for some time secretary. It is to be read thus:—

BEATO PAPAE DAMASO HIERONIMUS. NOVUM OPUS FACERE ME COGIS EX VETERI, UT POST EXEMPLARIA SCRIBTURARUM TOTO ORBE DISPERSA QUASI QUIDAM ARBITER SEDEAM; ET QUIA INTER SE VARIANT, QUAE SINT ILLA QUAE CUM GRECA CONSENTIANT VERITATE DECERNA[*m*], *etc.*

PLATE CXVIII.

SEMI-UNCIAL CAROLINE WRITING.

VIITH OR VIIITH CENTURY.

THE MORALS OF, OR COMMENTARIES ON, JOB, BY POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

THE study of Palæography possesses a literary interest in reference to historical criticism, and especially to the history of the ruling opinions of passed times, which ought not to be neglected. Thus we may be assured, that professional scribes would only copy such works as they were convinced would meet with a ready sale, and hence numerous copies of any work will prove the reputation of a writer at the time they were written. In like manner the heads of the great religious establishments would, of course, direct the attention of the scribes attached to them, to such works as were most valuable, in reference to science, religion, or the prevalent taste of the time.

The great number of copies of the Morals of Job, composed by Pope Gregory the Great, shew that this work was placed in the foremost rank through a long series of years. These copies, in fact, were reproduced from the sixth to the fifteenth century, and are found written in Roman, Lombardic, Anglo-Saxon, and modern Gothic characters. This multiplicity of copies of a manuscript work may be compared to the numerous editions of a popular writer in modern times. To these considerations in favor of the work of St. Gregory, we may add another, afforded by the age and style of the manuscript before us, since it is a production of the eighth

century, and is written in semi-uncial Caroline writing, as is clearly shewn by the fac-simile.

The general aspect of the text is uncial, but various letters assume a minuscule form, such as the *u*, *l*, *e*, *t*, *q*, *p*, *i*, whilst R, B, M, N, S, A, G, D, F, are purely uncial. The writing is occasionally broken, but continuous; the letters not truncated, upright, and slightly angular at the tops of the strokes; the N and F extend below the line, and the small initial capitals of the paragraphs differ only in being rather larger than those of the text. In one place (line 8,) we find the *i* inserted within the letter *h*. The punctuation is very regular, consisting of different marks, uniformly employed. A corrector has subsequently altered the word *conloquia* (line 8,) into *colloquia*.

The name of *Caroline semi-uncial*, applied to this writing, with the date of the eighth century, is justified by the authority of the learned Benedictines, who consider that the renovation of the various kinds of writing termed *Caroline*, commenced many years previous to the time of Charlemagne, even at the commencement of the eighth century.

The two lines which indicate the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh books of this Treatise on Job, are remarkable for their tall, narrow form, bordering on the Roman rustic capitals, and formed of outlines, with the words divided and separated by dots. The C is square, and the M deformed; the greater number of the strokes are not truncated, and the remainder terminate diagonally, and often end in a curled line, which is found also at the tops of some of the letters. The X is particularly remarkable. The name of Franco-Gallic capitals is given to this writing, as indicating the period when the fine forms of the Roman capitals was lost in the arbitrary variations from them, composed in each of the chief divisions of Europe.

The manuscript before us now belongs to the Royal Library at Munich, to which it was brought from the Cathedral of Freisingen.

PLATE CXIX.

UNCIAL GALLICAN WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE FRANKS, BY GREGORY OF TOURS.

Gregory, Bishop of Tours, was born of an illustrious house*, rendered still more illustrious by his writings, and has been styled the Father of the national history of France. He lived at a period of universal change, when, under the grandsons of Clovis, an active and violent ambition agitated at the same time the Romans, Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians, all arrayed against the ancient population of Gaul, which sank before so many confederated powers. Gregory was well versed in the spirit of his age, and has characterised its barbarism and neglect of literature in his writings. Although himself speaking an uncultivated language, he undertook a work, which should convey to after ages the memory of the past, the enterprises of the wicked, and the good deeds of the just. Such is the subject of his work intitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, which is divided into ten books†.

* He was born 30th November, A.D. 539. His mother, Armentaria, was the grand-daughter of St. Gregory, Bishop of Langres, and his father, Florent, was the son of the senator George, second son of the same bishop.

† *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Francs, par George Florent Grégoire,*

The first three books contain an abridgment of universal history, according to the annals of the Church, from the commencement of the world to the year 547; and the books following contain a recital of the events, of which Gregory was either a witness or contemporary, from 547 down to the year 591.

The learned Benedictines have zealously endeavoured to render the text of the memoirs of the Frankish Historian as correct as possible, by the aid of various manuscripts†, some of which are of the highest antiquity, extending as far back as the seventh or eighth century.

It is from one of these manuscripts that the present fac-simile is copied. It is written on vellum, of the form indicated in the Plate, and belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris (No. 132 *bis*, fonds N. D.); having formerly been in the library of the church of St. Peter at Beauvais, as appears by the inscription, *Sancti Petri Belvacensis*, in a hand of the twelfth century. It thence passed into the library of Ant. Loysel, a jurisconsult of the same city, and subsequently into that of his nephew, Claude Joly, chanter and canon of Notre-Dame at Paris, and was included among the manuscripts of the last-named church acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1756. It consists of 109 leaves, of which a few only are quite perfect; it has neither beginning nor end, the first pages being those of lib. ii, cap. 2, and the last those of lib. v. cap. 15. The writing appears throughout to be by the same hand.

The fac-simile is copied from the first two chapters of

évêque de Tours, en dix livres, revue et collationnée sur de nouveaux manuscrits, et traduite (en Français) par MM. Gaudet et Taranne. Paris, Renouard, 1836—38, 4 vols. 8vo. This edition was published by the Société de l'Histoire de France.

* Dom Ruinart published an edition in 1699, in folio, and Dom Bouquet again in 1739, revised after two additional manuscripts, in vol. II. of the *Recueil des Historiens de France.*

Book IV., in which the death and funeral of Queen Clotilda are narrated. The first line is in uncial majuscule letters, mingled with some Roman capitals, and the initial letter is a gigantic tessellated I, terminated in a fantastic arabesque ornament, and outwardly decorated with the figures of three birds, and surmounted by two griffins, supporting a floreated cross. The text is written in Merovingian or Gallican uncial letters, massive, negligent, nearly rustic, semi-truncated, as broad as high, with the tails cut off obliquely. The second chapter commences with an ornamented D, formed of two chains, and colored like tesselated work. The sentences commence with a letter larger than the rest of the text, formed of double strokes and colored. The text is to be read:—

IGITUR CHRODIGILDIS* REGINA PLENA DIERUM BONISQUE OPERIBUS PREDITA, APUT URBEM TURONICAM OBIIT, TEMPORE INJURIOSI EPISCOPI; QUAE PARISIUS CUM MAGNO PSALLENTIO DEPORTATA, IN SACRARIO BASILICAE $\overline{\text{SCI}}$ PETRI†, AD LATUS CLODOVECHI REGIS SEPULTA EST A FILIIS SUIS, CHILDEBERTO ATQUE CHLOTHARIO REGIBUS, *etc.*

* This name is variously written *Chrodigildis, Chrodechildis, Chrodichildis, Chrothigildis.*

† The Queen was buried in the sanctuary of the basilica of St. Peter, which became subsequently the church of St. Geneviève.

PLATE CXX.

GALLICAN UNCIAL WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE LIFE OF ST. VANDRILLE, IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE AT PARIS.

THE ancient vellum manuscript, of a quarto form, which has furnished the two remarkable fac-similes in the Plate, originally belonged to the Abbey of Corbie, whence it passed into the library of Notre-Dame at Paris, and thence to the Bibliothèque Royale, where it still retains its old number, 101, *bis*, (fonds N. D.)

It is written on thirty-one leaves of ordinary vellum, but three at least have been cut out at the end of the volume, belonging to the fourth gathering. The first two gatherings consist of four sheets, or eight leaves, of sixteen pages each, hence named *quaternion;* the third gathering is of five sheets, or a *quinquenion.* Each page, except the first, uniformly contains nineteen lines. Four lines ruled with a hard point limit the boundary of the writing, and two horizontal lines regulate the size of the letters and the width of the written lines apart. These lines are only traced on one side of the leaf, their impression being visible on the other; and thirty-eight punctures along the outer margin of the pages, further indicate the place of the lines. On the lower margin of the *last* page of each gathering is a signature in Roman cyphers, I., II., III., etc., instead of the letters of the alphabet used in other manuscripts, and written at the foot of the *first* page of each gathering; a practice still adopted in printing.

The text of this manuscript is full of faults and omissions; having been written previous to the reformation of orthography effected under Charlemagne. We read, for instance, *post multos diebus; omne* for *omni; dilego* for *diligo; relegio* for *religio;* and *diabulus* for *diabolus;* the solecisms are still more frequent. It has, however, undergone two revisions; one at a time near its execution, in a small uncial character, and the other subsequently, and more extensively, written in Carlovingian minuscules; the former in the margin, and the latter between the lines. The later corrections supply not only the omissions, but amend the barbarisms of the text. This zeal of correction was especially manifested in the ninth century, and the manuscripts of the two preceding centuries furnished abundant materials for its practice, which was chiefly directed to the amendment of their orthography and punctuation. Thus, at Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus* manifested his zeal not only in transcribing or causing to be transcribed the Scriptures and works of the Fathers, but also in superintending the scribes, and revising the new copies; hence the more learned revisers became the terror of the calligraphers, who dreaded lest their interlinear interpolations should destroy the beauty of the writing. The present manuscript in this respect has indeed lost somewhat of its primitive beauty, but at the same time its antiquity is thus proved. It is written entirely in uncial letters, which after the ninth century were only employed for liturgical works and evangeliaries. The sentences are separated by points and larger letters; the words themselves being continuous. Some portions of the lines remain blank, in consequence of imperfections in the vellum. Its subject is the life of St. Vandrille, who founded the celebrated abbey of that name, (otherwise called Fontenelle,) in the Pays de Caux, in the year 648, and who died on the 21st July, 667 (MS., p. 61). A king Dagobert

* He was abbot from A.D. 844 to 885.—ED.

is named in the manuscript, (p. 14,) namely, Dagobert I., of whom this saint was the contemporary, and, indeed, one of his officers. The writing (as shewn in the Plate,) is varied, and characterized by a *mélange*, which it is not rare to meet with in manuscripts somewhat anterior to the tenth century. The upper specimen is the title of the volume, in capital Roman and uncial letters intermingled, thick and tall, with the bases dilated, and floreated; some strokes terminating in curved lines; some letters inserted within others, others conjoined; and commencing with a gigantic I, in tesselated work, prolonged below into a reversed cone. It is to be read,—

INCIPIT VITA $\overline{\text{SCI}}$ HAC BEATISSIMI UUANDRIGISELI ABBATIS.

The first line of the lower fac-simile is in the same style, and is to be read,—

VENIAMUS AD ILLUM LOCUM, *etc.*,

the last word being the first of the text of the volume, written in round massive uncial letters, truncated, and continuous; the first letters of each sentence being surrounded with red dots. The letters of the titles are also painted, their aspect being diversified by alternate colors. From all these characters this manuscript has been assigned to the eighth century. In the fac-simile various corrections and additions may be remarked, such as *h* added to complete the word *heu* (line 8); an *i* placed over the *e*, in the word *caeleste* (line 4); and *o* interlined, to substitute *quo* for *quam* (line 2); the last two letters of which are underlined, to shew that they ought to be suppressed.

PLATE CXXI.

INTERMIXED UNCIAL GALLICAN WRITING.

VIIIth CENTURY.

THE ROMAN HISTORY OF LIVY.

The great and merited fame of the Roman History of Titus Livius will account for the antiquity of many of its copies, including the one which has furnished the fac-simile before us.

This history was composed from numerous documents deposited in the public archives, to which admission was obtained by the patronage of the Emperor Augustus, who is said to have entrusted to Livy the education of the young Claudius. The writings of earlier historians were also consulted; and it is known that Book XX. is entirely copied from Polybius, whose work was of great service to Livy, who, whilst he had recourse to preceding sources, imparted a brilliancy of style to his history which has been surpassed by few writers. Caligula, however, took a dislike to it, and ordered both the work and the portrait of its author to be banished from the libraries of Rome. The work of Livy is divided into *decades*, each containing ten books; but it is supposed that this division was not originally made by the author. When entire, it consisted of 142 books, of which 35 only remain, some of which are also imperfect. They were known in their entire state to most of the Roman historians, the two Senecas, Quintilian, and Tacitus; and subsequently to St. Jerome, and Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea. We learn also from St. Augustine that, in his days, the library of Hippona

possessed a copy, and we further know that Pope Gregory the Great caused the copies of the Roman history to be seized and burnt.

Isidore of Seville, however, found the work in the libraries of Spain, and the illustrious Abbot Lupus, in the ninth century, did not forget to add it to his library at Ferrières. The catalogue of the library of the abbey of Corbie, made in the twelfth century, also mentions a Livy, but probably incomplete. The present manuscript is anterior both to the copy at Ferrières and the catalogue of Corbie; but it is also incomplete, containing only the Books XXI to XXX. The sheets at the beginning are not consecutive; they want both the commencement and end of the text. From the signature of Claude Dupuy on the first page, (who died in 1594,) and some notes by him at the end of the volume, it appears that this manuscript was in its present state when it was acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1656, among the manuscripts of his two sons*.

It forms a large volume, of a square quarto form, and is written upon very beautiful vellum, with wide margins, and two columns in a page, eight leaves forming each gathering. The second leaf bears the cypher of the third quaternion, and the seventh leaf beyond is the last of the fifth gathering, thus indicating an *hiatus* of thirty-one pages. Such a loss, in so ancient and finely-written a manuscript, is to be greatly deplored.

It is written in Gallican uncial letters, mingled with semi-uncials, forming together a large semi-uncial character, such as was often used in the seventh and eighth centuries; upright, tall, slightly angular, with long pointed tails, and the words not at all divided. The fac-simile represents the commence-

* It is thus mentioned in the Catalogue of the Dupuy MSS. given to the king, "*T. Livius, a libro* 21 *ad libr.* 30, *fol. majusculis litteris.* (*Collect. Dupuy, vol.* 653.) [It is now No. 5730.—Ed.]

ment of Book XXII.; the first five lines of which are written in red, and the remainder in black ink, which has become unusually pale.

The first words, JAM VERO ADPETEBAT QUE HANNIBAL EX HIBERNIS METUIT, ET NEQUE EO QUI JAM ANTE CONATUS TRANSCENDERE APPENNINUM, exhibit a text very different from the printed editions, and in which some of the letters approach the minuscule form, and constitute the semi-uncial character, such as the *l*, *h*, *q*, *t;* destitute of punctuation or ancient corrections. Each book commences with several of the lines rubricated, and each chapter with a capital letter, usually written outside of the perpendicular boundary of the text. There are also but very few abbreviations, so that this precious volume may be regarded as a remarkable specimen of the calligraphy of the eighth century*.

PLATE CXXII.

RENOVATED ROMAN (OR MINUSCULE) WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

PSALTER PRESENTED BY CHARLEMAGNE TO POPE ADRIAN I.

THE intimate friendship subsisting between the Emperor Charlemagne and Pope Adrian I. originated shortly after the latter was elevated to the papacy in 772, when being menaced by the attacks of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, he applied

* On a comparison of this fac-simile with Plate CIX., it is difficult to say why the specimen in the latter should be placed two centuries earlier than the volume before us. At any rate the manuscript now under consideration must be placed in the *seventh*, not the *eighth* century. —ED.

to Charlemagne for support. The emperor also threw his protection over the temporal authority of the Pope against the princes of Italy, and increased the donation made by Pepin to the Church of Rome. In return for these services, the Pope shewed his gratitude by furnishing Charlemagne with chanters, the Gregorian chant, grammarians, mathematicians, scientific instruments, and monuments of art; and, if we may credit a chronicler of the thirteenth century, Albericus de Tribus-Fontibus, he would have conferred on him even the right to elect the Bishop of Rome, and to confirm the investiture of all the bishops in his territories. The friendship between these two exalted personages ceased only with the death of the Pope, to whose memory the Emperor composed some elegiac verses, which were engraved upon marble as an epitaph, in letters of gold.

The manuscript from which the present fac-simile is taken, affords also a proof of the regard of Charlemagne for the Pope. It is a large volume, of the quarto size, containing the Psalms of David, written in letters of gold on white vellum, intermingled with leaves of purple, and ornamented with some rich capital letters. The magnificence of the volume proves its distinguished origin, as more clearly stated in the two lines represented on the left-hand side of the plate:—

Hadriano summo Papae Patrique beato,
Rex Carolus salve mando, valeque, Pater.

To the illustrious Pope, and blessed Father Adrian, I Charles the King, send my salutations and good wishes to you, my Father.

These verses indicate, that the volume was written by order of Charlemagne for the Pope Adrian I.

This manuscript belongs to the Imperial library at Vienna, and Lambecius supposes that the Pope presented it to some one of his ecclesiastical dignitaries; but the authors of the

Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique think that the Pope would not have parted with a volume presented to him by so great a monarch, and conjecture that the death of Adrian in 795 prevented the volume from being transmitted to him*. It is certain that it was subsequently given to St. Willehad, first bishop of Bremen, in which church it was preserved for eight centuries, and from which place it passed into the Imperial library of Vienna. The scribe names himself Dagulfus. His writing is a good specimen of the renovated Roman or Caroline characters in general usage from the end of the eighth century.

The left-hand side of the Plate is taken from various portions of the manuscript, and the third example is written in fine square Roman capitals of good proportions, mingled with some rustic letters; truncated, and ending in short, superfluous curved strokes, with the words not divided. On the right-hand page the initial is a large B, the open spaces of which are filled with a knotted pattern. The writing of the first line is of the same kind as those above described, and we meet with the word *inmaculati*, according to the ancient orthography. The body of the text is in a very regular Roman minuscule character, with the initials of the verses in ornamented uncials, and without abbreviations. The general appearance of the volume at once indicates it to be of the latter part of the eighth century.

* Tom. ii. p. 100, *n.* 1. See also Lambecius, *Comm. Bibl. Cæs.*, lib. ii. c. 5, p. 261, seq., ed. 1669; and Denis, *Codd. Theolog. Bibl. Cæs.*, tom. i. col. 54, fol. 1793.—Ed.

PLATE CXXIII.

WRITING IN TIRONIAN CHARACTERS.

VIIIᵀᴴ AND Xᵀᴴ CENTURIES.

THE PSALTER AND VOCABULARY, WRITTEN IN TIRONIAN OR TACHYGRAPHIC NOTES.

We have employed the words *Tironian characters* to designate the species of short-hand, of which the annexed Plate exhibits two specimens. It is said to have derived its name from Marcus Tullius Tiro, a freed-man of Cicero, but probably existed before his time, since all nations who possessed a system of writing, must have found both the need of the invention of rapid writing, and have adopted certain conventional forms of abbreviation. The Egyptian manuscripts exhibit the practice in the employment of the initial letter alone for the entire word, and numberless examples occur in the monuments of Greek and Rome, in which such marks of abbreviation are known by the name of *siglæ*. The civilized nations of antiquity, however, carried this usage still further, and required that the hand, in tracing the writing, should equal the velocity of speech. David makes direct allusion to this practice (Ps. xliv. 2), and Diogenes Laertius affirms that Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates, ordinarily made use of it. Thus, the art of *stenography*, or *tachygraphy*, as it has been termed in our times, was generally known to the ancients. The Greeks, moreover, employed *cryptography*, (with which the word *stenography* was almost synonymous,) a cypher for *secret* writing; *brachygraphy*, or abbreviated writing; and *semeiography*, or writing by conventional notes or

signs. Tachygraphy was taught in the schools, in conjunction with ordinary writing,

The Romans adopted this Greek custom, and the poet Ennius, according to Isidore of Seville, was the first who introduced it into the Latin language, having invented a series of eleven hundred stenographic characters. He was followed by Tiro, who added greatly to this first essay, and regulated its employ by stenographers. Subsequently, Persannius and Aquila, a freed-man of Mecænas, labored in the same direction; and lastly, Seneca, by assembling together all the vocabularies existing in his time, united them into one series, which he thoroughly revised, corrected, and probably augmented; the number of these signs being then 5,000 or 6,000, which was ultimately increased to more than 13,000.

Plutarch informs us, that Cicero caused to be written by means of stenography, as quickly as it was uttered, the discourse which Cato pronounced against Julius Cæsar, in the matter of Cataline's conspiracy, which circumstance contributed to spread the practicè at Rome. Cicero also used it in his familiar letters; the Emperor Titus was an adept in the practice; it was taught in the Roman schools; and the manuscripts of the middle ages prove that it was never entirely lost.

It may be asked, however, how could a writing, invented in order to be written as quickly as speech, be useful when its characters amounted to more than 13,000? These characters must be supposed to have represented a word or an idea, in which case it would be necessary that the number of signs should be equal to the number of words in the language. Such would be the result of the opinion expressed by some learned writers, who have considered the Tironian notes merely as a collection of arbitrary signs, destitute of analogy of expression resulting from their form, and of connexion in composition. This erroneous notion was maintained until

the middle of the last century, and the arguments of the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, (tom. iii., p. 562 to 622,) in proof of the alphabetic origin of the Tironian notes, and the constant rules by which their combination was effected, do not appear to have entirely removed it. A learned German writer, M. Kopp, has, however, more recently reinvestigated the subject*, and proved beyond a doubt, that the thousands of Tironian notes are all derived from an alphabet of twenty-two primitive signs, (J, U, and Y, being omitted,) and are abridged forms of uncial, rather than majuscule letters, regularly combining together, and presenting in each group a dominant or radical sign, and an auxiliary or final sign.

Tironian notes are found both in charters and manuscripts. The specimens in the Plate are taken from two fine volumes belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale. The text of the left hand fac-simile represents Psalm XXVIII. entire, from a page of the celebrated Psalter in Tironian notes, formerly in the ancient library of St. Germain (No. 661); a manuscript of the eighth century, in perfect preservation. The second specimen, on the right hand, is copied from the Latin manuscript numbered 8799, which contains the nomenclature of the Tironian notes, written in the tenth century.

* *Palæographia Critica aut Tachygraphia Veterum exposita et illustrata, ab U. F. Kopp.* Mannheim, 1817, 2 vols 4to.—Ed.

PLATE CXXIV.

CAPITAL AND UNCIAL WRITING IN GOLD.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE IXTH CENTURY.

THE LATIN GOSPELS OF ST. MEDARD OF SOISSONS.

THE employment of golden ink among the Latins dates as far back as the period of profane antiquity. At a later period we find St. Jerome, in his first preface on Job, remonstrating against books of a large size, in which gold and silver were lavishly used on purple vellum, often to the detriment of the text itself. In the twelfth century, a Cistercian monk, still more severe than Jerome, condemned as useless and unprofitable the practice of ornamenting the large capital initials of manuscripts with gold. But magnificence influenced by piety has prevailed in all ages over cenobitical simplicity, and in every period of the middle ages has produced books written in gold, especially the Gospels, the Canons of the Mass, Pontificals, books of Prayers destined for the use of sovereigns, and such as were presented by them to other princes or churches*.

A sentiment of religious veneration for the text of the Scriptures was, doubtless, the cause of such munificence, but certain restrictions were adopted in regard to its usage. No entire work on purple vellum in letters of gold might be written without permission from the sovereign, and it was also a prerogative confined to the sacred volume. It was this veneration which induced St. Boniface to solicit from the Abbess Eadburga a copy of the Epistles of St. Paul, written in letters of gold. A certain Count Everard bequeathed to

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. i., p. 543, et seq.

his brother Berengarius a Psalter written in gold, and to Adelard a Lectionary of the Epistles and Gospels, also in gold*; and other instances might be cited to prove the frequent usage, under certain restrictions, of writing the whole or portions of Latin works with golden ink.

The splendid manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile is one of the most precious in existence, remarkable equally for its large size, the fineness of the vellum, the perfection of the writing, and the great variety of its ornaments. The volume is, moreover, the result of the piety of one of the most illustrious kings of France. The Benedictine authors of the *Voyage Littéraire*†, saw this manuscript in the treasury of the church of St. Médard, at Soissons; and a long cherished tradition affirmed it to have been presented to that church by the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire‡.

The fine execution of this volume proves it to be contemporary with this prince§. Bertram, a scribe of his court, was celebrated for his skill in majuscule and uncial writing; and Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, is said to have requested Eginhard to furnish him with the proportions of the letters executed by this Bertram. The glorious reign of Charlemagne had already introduced a renovation of the fine Roman capital

* Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica*, pp. 43, 44.

† Martène and Durand, *Seconde Voyage*, 4to., 1724, pp. 17, 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, and *Nouv. Diplomat.* i. 544, *note*, ii. 509 *note*. [It is now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, *Suppl. Lat.* No. 686.—Ed.]

§ Louis de Débonnaire reigned from A.D. 814 to A.D. 840. Notwithstanding the tradition mentioned in the text, this manuscript has been ascribed by M. le Comte de Bastard and other palæographers to the *eighth* century, and with reason, since in execution it corresponds perfectly with several other volumes of that period, particularly with the golden Evangeliary of Charlemagne, written in the year 780, (in the Bibliothèque particulière du Roi, at the Louvre); the golden Gospels given by that monarch in 793 to St. Angilbert (now preserved in the public library at Abbeville); and the golden Gospels in the Harleian collection, No. 2788, the latter of which manuscripts is almost a duplicate of the volume of St Médard.—Ed.

letters, which thenceforth assumed a simpler, more regular, and more agreeable form; a perfection in which the uncial writing also participated, and which was completed under Louis le Débonnaire, as evidenced by the manuscript before us.

We here perceive both the fine Gallican majuscule and uncial characters. The latter are round, with full strokes, upright, and massive, with the summits and bases truncated, and the tails straight, short, and obliquely cut off, and the tall letters also truncated at the top. The letters are wide apart, and without superfluous strokes; the words are divided; the abbreviations are rare, and of the most ordinary kind.

The EXPLICIT and INCIPIT, at the beginning and end of the Gospels, are written in tall, elegant Roman capitals, unequal in size, and massive, mingled with some uncials; the strokes truncated, and some terminating in short curved ornaments.

The first three letters of the word MARCUS are uncial majuscules, ornamented in the open spaces, and in the thick strokes of the M, with an interlaced pattern. The line which follows is in renovated Roman majuscules, resembling the lines preceding, and written in the same kind of letters.

Each page of this rich volume is written in double columns, ornamented with a rectangular frame-work, heightened with gold, silver, and colors, the scroll-work and arabesques of which are infinitely varied; each frame exhibiting a different pattern. The volume contains also six large miniatures in the Byzantine style, representing the Evangelists and two allegorical subjects.

The text in the Plate contains the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, from the words ADORAVERUNT; QUIDAM AUTEM DUBITAVERUNT (ch. xxviii. v. 17), and part of the preface to the Gospel of St. Mark, thus commencing—

MARCUS, EVANGELISTA DĪ [*Dei*], ET PETRI IN BABTISMATE

FILIUS, ATQ;[*ue*] IN DIVINO SERMONE DISCIPULUS, SACERDOTIUM IN ISRAHEL AGENS, SECUNDŪ[*m*] CARNEM LEVITA, CONVERSUS AD FIDEM $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ [*Christi*], EVANGELIUM IN ITALIA SCRIPSIT, *etc.*

PLATE CXXV.

LATIN CAPITAL AND UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

PRAYER BOOK OF CHARLES LE CHAUVE.

THE manuscript known under the name of the *Prayer Book of Charles le Chauve*, is one of the most precious and most perfect productions of the graphic art of the middle ages.

It is of a small square quarto size, written on vellum in letters of gold, and enriched with miniatures of the size of the page. Its wooden covers are ornamented with two ivory carvings in bas-relief, of excellent workmanship, inclosed in a fillagree border of silver, adorned with precious stones. It is inclosed in a red morocco case, bearing the arms and cypher of Colbert.

A tradition, resting upon authentic data, informs us that this volume was long preserved in the treasury of the Chapter of Metz, to whom it was reputed to have been given by Charles le Chauve himself; and in 1674, it was presented by the Chapter to the celebrated minister Colbert*. The letter accompanying this present, dated October 24, 1674, is still preserved, and the terms of humble submission of the canons to the wishes of the all-powerful minister of Louis XIV.,

* Now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1152.—ED.

explains at once the mode in which he collected in his library so many of the finest manuscripts of France.

This Book of Prayers has, in fact, but few rivals, either in regard to antiquity or splendor. One of the miniatures at the commencement represents the French Emperor seated on a throne, holding in his left hand the globe, surmounted by a cross, and in his right a short sceptre, terminating in a kind of fleur-de-lis. His crown is a diadem, ornamented with three similar flowers. An open hand extended from a cloud is represented over the head of the monarch.

In this figure the origin has been sought for of the hand of Justice, which the kings of France are accustomed to hold at their coronations; but it is more natural to behold in it the emblem of the title which the Christian emperors of the East, and by their example Charlemagne and his descendants, constantly assumed, namely, "*a Deo coronatus*," (θεόστεπτος); a title which they also introduced into their protocols, and employed, as proved by our manuscript, in their litanies, in which Charles le Chauve thus addresses the Divinity: "*Ut mihi Carolo,* A TE REGI CORONATO, *vitam et prosperitatem atque victoriam dones, te rogo: audi me.*"

The Emperors of Germany also adopted this title*, and the same emblem of the hand of God, replaced sometimes by the arm, or even by the entire figure of Christ, is found in the monuments of all Christian countries.

In these Litanies Charles likewise prays to God to protect himself and Hermintruda, his first wife, to whom he was married 14 December, A.D. 842, and who died 6 October, A.D. 869. This manuscript must therefore have been executed in the interval between these two dates. In praying for his life, Charles prays also for progeny, but this peculiarity is a formula rather than expressive of a date. Hermintruda, in fact, bore him seven children, and if this prayer is to be interpreted

* Sanftl, *Dissertatio in Aureum Codicem*, etc., pp. 43, 44.

literally, it would fix the date of the manuscript between the years 842 and 846, the period when his eldest son, Louis le Begue, was born.

The scribe of this priceless volume has made his name known in a line written in small rustic Caroline capitals in the last page,

HIC CALAMUS FACTO LUITHARDI FINE QUIEVIT,

in which we recognize the same Luithard, who, in conjunction with Beringarius, wrote the golden Gospels for the use of the same monarch, now in the library of Munich. In both works we find the same calligraphic skill and magnificence. D. Rivet asserts, that Luithard and Beringarius were monks of St. Denis*.

The fac-simile will be sufficient to maintain the reputation of these calligraphers. It contains the first verse of Psalm I. BEATUS VIR QUI NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORUM, *etc.*, inclosed within a splendid border on a golden ground, heightened with colors. The text is written on a purple ground. The initial letter B is of the Anglo-Saxon form, gigantic in its proportions, and interlaced with floreated ornaments. The first three lines are written in renovated, well-proportioned, elegant Roman capitals, truncated, and mingled with an arabesque pattern. The remainder of the text is in round, close, elegant, truncated uncials, with the words not divided; the tails short, and cut off diagonally, the tops of the tall letters transversely; with the letter H of the minuscule form. The text is very correct, and the orthography regular; the punctuation exact, and the abbreviations few in number, and of the ordinary kind. The execution of this volume is, in all respects, worthy of the prince for whom it was written.

* *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* tom. iv., p. 283.

PLATES CXXVI., CXXVII.

ROMAN MAJUSCULE AND UNCIAL WRITING IN GOLD.

IXTH CENTURY.

GOSPELS OF CHARLES LE CHAUVE.

It would have been difficult, even in the finest period of Latin calligraphy, to execute a volume with greater magnificence than the one which has furnished the two Plates which accompany the present notice. This volume, indeed, has well deserved the attention of the various learned men who have investigated its origin and history.

A monk in the eleventh century has related, that about the year 893, the Emperor Arnulf visited France as the ally of Charles le Simple, and, with the assistance of a chaplain named Giselbert, he clandestinely removed the body of St. Denis; that he at first refused to listen to the just complaints of Ebulo, the Abbot of St. Denis, who reclaimed the sacred relics, but that, at last, he restored a portion of them, taking in exchange the rich Evangeliary, written in letters of gold, which the abbey had possessed since the reign of Charles le Chauve; which volume Arnulf subsequently gave to the monastery of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon. A Bavarian annalist, on the contrary, affirms that Arnulf, having given to Otho the government of Western France, the latter pillaged the treasuries of the churches, and took away the volume of the Gospels from St. Denis, which he gave to the Emperor.

The Hagiography of St. Emmeram of Ratisbon expressly states, that Arnulf, who was devotedly attached to this his

patron saint, gave to this church all his jewels, especially a magnificent book of the Gospels, ornamented with gold and precious stones; and the richness of the covers of the manuscripts before us corresponds with this description.

The authors of the *Nouvelle Diplomatique*, writing in 1755, have given, after Mabillon, Eckhard, and others, the following summary of this precious volume:—"Charles le Chauve fit présent à l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis d'un livre des Evangiles, écrit en l'an 870, en lettres d'or. Il fut dans la suite cédé à l'Empereur Arnoul. Ce prince le déposa dans le trésor de Saint Emmeram de Ratisbonne, où il se conserve aujourd'hui*." Still more recently, in 1786, Colomann Sanftl published a volume† exclusively devoted to the history and description of the present manuscript, but without adding any more certain evidence relative to its early history.

No doubt, however, can exist as to the date of its execution. The twelve Latin verses at the end of the volume, represented in the second Plate (CXXVII.), expressly inform us, that it was written in the year 870 from the birth of Christ, and in the thirty-first year of the reign of Charles le Chauve, by order of the monarch himself, by two brothers, the priests Beringarius and Luithard‡.

The portrait of Charles le Chauve is represented on the *verso* of the fifth leaf, seated on a magnificent throne, in Frankish costume, with a crown of gold on his head, and a sceptre in his right hand. Two armed men stand near the throne, and at their sides two female figures, representing France and Aquitane. Four lines written above the throne in

* Tome ii., p. 103, *note.*

† *Dissertatio in aureum ac pervetustum SS. Evangeliorum Codicem MS. Monasterii S. Emmerami, Ratisbonæ.* 4*to.* 1786.

‡ Beneath these verses is added a line written in Tironian characters, not noticed by the MM. Champollion, in which the names of Luithard and Beringarius appear to be again introduced.—Ed.

golden letters on a purple ground, contain an eulogium of the king, which is continued in the verses written below.

The words INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM MARCUM, written in gold on a purple ground, in elegant broad truncated Roman capitals, intermingled with foliage and volutes, occur on the *verso* of the forty-sixth leaf, above and beneath the figure of Christ. On the thirteenth leaf is the title of the Prologue on the Gospel of St. Matthew, in Roman letters, richly executed, and the subject of the first Plate (CXXVI..) is copied from the *verso* of the same leaf, being the text of the same prologue.

The initial M is a splendid Roman majuscule, tessellated, floreated, and ornamented with interlaced and arabesque ornaments, being the first letter of the name of the Evangelist MATTHEUS, the remaining letters of which are also in elegant tall truncated Roman majuscules; the A rather flattened at the top. The remainder of the text is written in massive, close, Gallican uncials, with the words continuous; the L taller than usual; the F extending below the line; the tails diagonally cut off; without punctuation; with a larger letter at the commencement of each sentence; with few abbreviations; A E not united; I without a dot; and the whole inclosed within a leaf-shaped border, the leaves being alternately in gold and colors.

This magnificent and ancient manuscript has passed from the library of St. Emmeram to the royal library at Munich.

PLATE CXXVIII.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

TERENCE, WITH FIGURES, IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE AT PARIS.

THE comic poet Terence is not among those writers whose works have been allowed to fall into neglect. Praised by his contemporaries, and eulogized by their successors, Ovid, Velleius, Paterculus, Quintilian, and Pliny the younger, in the first century, Aulus Gellius, in the second, Eusebius, in the third, St. Augustine, in the fourth and fifth, Cassiodorus, in the sixth, and Isidore of Seville, in the seventh, have all unanimously borne witness to the merits of the writings of Terence. Since the eighth century manuscripts still existing prove the constant reproduction, by the industry of the scribes, of these fine compositions, for the benefit of literature and philosophy.

Besides the manuscript of Phormio, considered as a production of the fourth century*, the Vatican library possesses another manuscript of Terence, attributed to the eighth or ninth, ornamented with numerous drawings of figures representing the chief scenes of the dramas, as well as the scenic masks of the *dramatis personæ*. Literary critics have been so pre-occupied with the Vatican volume, that they have not paid sufficient attention to a very similar volume in the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 899, *Arm. de Réserve*,) written upon vellum, of a square quarto shape, with numerous figures interspersed

* A specimen has been previously given in Plate C., with a description.—ED.

in the text, which has furnished the fac-simile in the Plate, copied from the fifth scene of the fifth act of the *Andria*.

In the printed editions* this scene consists only of two personages, whereas three are represented in the drawing; which arises from this peculiarity, that in the manuscript only one scene (the last of the piece) is made out of the fifth and sixth scenes, as adopted in the printed copies, the sixth consisting of three persons. These are represented in the Plate, in which Charinus interrogates Pamphilus, in presence of Davus, which forms the *dénouement* of the drama. The text is to be read:—

CHA. Proviso quid agat Pamphilus; atque eccum. PAM. Aliquis forsitam (*sic*) me putet
Non putare hoc verum; at mihi nunc esse hoc verum lubet.
Ego vitam deorum propterea sempiternam esse arbitror,
Quod voluptates eorum proprie sunt: nam mihi immortalitas
Parta est, si nulla aegritudo huic gaudio intercesserit.
Sed quem ego potissimum mihi exoptem nunc, cui haec narrem, dari?
CHA. Quid illud gaudi est? PAM. Davum video. Nemo est quem malim omnium;
Nam hunc scio mea solide solum gravisurum gaudia.

This text exhibits two kinds of writing; the names of the *dramatis personæ* being written in red, and in rustic Roman capitals, whilst the text is in clear, well proportioned, Caroline minuscules, with the words not divided, the tails and tops of the letters of proper length, and the strokes of the *m* and *n* inclined towards the left; graphic characters which indicate the ninth century, and the kind of writing termed *Caroline*.

This name is derived from the Emperor Charlemagne, who having observed that the small Roman writing previously used in Gaul had become considerably altered since the seventh century, he ordered that a more correct style should be adopted;

* *Cum notis variorum*, Lugd. Batav. 1662. 8vo.

that each bishop, abbot, or count, should have a secretary to perform this duty; and that the copies of the Holy Scriptures should only be written by men of a mature age, who might apply themselves to the task with greater success*. He thus caused the small Roman characters to be renovated, which, in process of time, have become the characters used in printing; and it is worthy of remark, that whilst France revived the Roman writing, Italy continued the use of the Lombardic characters. It appears that the monks of the abbey of St. Vandrille more particularly labored to effect this reform.

The scene represented in the Plate is remarkable for the costume of the figures in it, approaching so nearly to the antique habits, as to lead us to infer that these drawings in the manuscript are traditional copies, taken from more ancient compositions, which might be referred back to the period even when the plays of Terence were acted on the Roman stage. The same manuscript exhibits on several of its pages an assemblage of masks, destined for the personages in the dramas of Terence. In the Plate, one of the three figures evidently wears this portion of the costume, namely, the slave Davus. It is known that these masks covered not only the face, but formed a case for the whole head, so that the voice resounding within this large cavity, and escaping by a single orifice, acquired more power, and was thus enabled to reach the most distant row of seats of the spectators.

This manuscript is one of the most important monuments existing for the history of the theatre of the ancients. The learned Madame Dacier has published the greater portion of the drawings, in her French translation of Terence†, reduced in size, and engraved by Bernard Picart.

* *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 19.

† *Les Comédies de Terence*, etc., 2 tom. Roterod. 1717, 12mo.—Ed.

PLATE CXXIX.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE CAROLINE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

TERENCE, WITH FIGURES, IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY, NO, 3868.

THE edition, published at Urbino, in 1736, of the Vatican manuscript of Terence, ornamented with figures*, has given much celebrity to this volume. There are so few ancient profane manuscripts illustrated with figures, which may be regarded as faithful copies of the types composed in the times contemporary with the authors of the texts which they accompany, that the publication of the text and drawings of the Vatican Terence must necessarily have raised a high idea of the importance of this manuscript. At the same time it is a subject of surprise, that a similar manuscript of Terence in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, also illustrated with figures, should have been comparatively neglected; especially if it can be proved, that the Paris manuscript is the *more ancient* of the two, and that the numerous drawings of the Vatican manuscript are copies of those of which the Paris manuscript, chronologically speaking, furnishes the originals. A fac-simile is here presented of one of the pages of the Vatican volume; on comparing which with the Plate copied from the Paris manuscript, it will be seen that the Vatican volume is a wide and tall folio, whilst that of Paris is nearly square,—a form considered by the Benedictines (*Nouv. Dip.*, ii. 392) as a

* *Pub. Terentii Comœdiæ nunc primum Italicis versibus redditæ, cum personarum figuris æri accurate incisis, ex MS. Cod. Bibl. Vaticanæ.* Urbini, 1736. folio.—ED.

sign of high antiquity. The composition of the figures in the Paris manuscript is careful in style, the expression attentive, the details minute, as in an original composition, whilst in the Vatican volume the figures are treated with greater breadth, the lines fewer, and the wide folds of the drapery scarcely indicate the movements of the limbs. The artist of the Paris manuscript appears to have followed nature, whilst he who illustrated the Roman volume drew from statues or from earlier designs.

The text of the Vatican manuscript is written in long lines, without distinction of the verses; it abounds in abbreviations, and marks of punctuation. The Paris volume is regularly written in verses, with the *m* and the syllable *pro* not abbreviated, and the punctuation almost everywhere wanting. The writing of the two manuscripts, when compared, leads to similar deductions; that of the Paris volume possesses all the characters of the careful Caroline writing of the ninth century, whereas that of the Vatican does not exhibit all these characters. The rustic capitals in the latter, written in vermilion, are negligent and tall, with the lower strokes thick and superfluous; some letters are conjoined, the Y is dotted, and the A is nearly of the minuscule form. This rustic kind of writing continued in use after the renovation effected by Charlemagne, and during the reign of his successors.

The text of the manuscript is also in Caroline minuscule, with the words divided, of the kind which is termed irregular; massive, acute, with clubbed tops to the letters, resembling the Lombardic minuscule. The tall strokes occasionally have the tops obliquely truncated, and the tails terminate diagonally; the strokes of the letters generally incline to the left, but sometimes to the right; the *s* is prolonged below the line; the conjoined letters *et* (&) are employed constantly, and the letters *ex* are also conjoined (line 5,) in the word *existumas*. Various scholia are interlined, written in a smaller character,

which appear to be of the same age as the text; the tall letters being clubbed in a like manner, the tails acute, the *y* dotted, and the abbreviations frequent. On the whole, this manuscript of the Vatican appears to be less ancient by a quarter or half a century, than that of Paris.

The fragment represented in the Plate is taken from the *Adelphi*, Act v. Sc. 6 and 7. The first scene is between the old Demea and his slave Geta.

GET. Hera*, ego huc ad hos *pro*visam, qua*m* mox virgine*m* accersant; sed eccu*m* Demea*m*; salvus sies.

DEM. Oh! qui vocare? GET. Geta. DEM. Geta, hominem maximi pretii esse te hodie judicavi animo meo, *etc.*

The second scene in the fac-simile is the seventh of the same act, between Demea, Æschinus his son, and the two slaves, Geta and Syrus. The youth exclaims:—

AES. Occidunt me, quidem, dum nimis sanctas nuptias student facere; in apparando totu*m* consumunt diem.

DEM. Quid agitur, Aeschine? AES. Ehem, pater mi, tun' hic eras? *etc.*

At the end of the manuscript the scribe has written his name, HRODGARIUS SCRIPSIT. This name of *Rodgarius* is not unfrequent amongst the personages of the Carlovingian period. We meet with a *Rotgarius*, who was an officer of the court of Pepin, and a *Rodegarius* was the agent of the abbey of St. Denis employed about the same king. We are ignorant to what country the person belonged, to whom we owe the execution of the fine volume before us.

* The French editors have printed this *Era*, not having remarked the ancient mark of aspiration ⊢ over the first letter.—ED.

PLATE CXXX.

MINUSCULE CAROLINE WRITING, MIXED WITH UNCIALS.

MIDDLE OF THE IXTH CENTURY.

THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS, IN SILVER LETTERS, UPON PURPLE VELLUM.

MANUSCRIPTS entirely written on purple vellum are of very great rarity; and in many exceedingly fine volumes only the principal portions of the text are thus treated. The place or period of the first invention of the staining of vellum, either with saffron or purple color, cannot be exactly determined. We are told in the life of Maximinus the younger, that his mother, when she sent him back to his tutor, presented him with the works of Homer, written upon purple in letters of gold.

The simplicity of this statement of the historian (Julius Capitolinus), would lead us to infer, that books thus executed were not an extraordinary novelty at the commencement of the third century of the Christian era; and the Benedictines (*Nouv. Dipl.* ii., p. 98) refer the practice even to the end of the first century. It was still, however, of sufficiently rare occurrence in the fourth, when the monks having bestowed much care on the art of making purple vellum, the usage became thenceforward more common, and St. Jerome speaks of it as a custom well known in his days*, and which prevailed during the fifth and three following centuries. St.

* In his Letter to Eustochium, "*Inficiuntur membranæ colore purpureo; aurum liquescit in litteras,*" Opp. tom. iv. pt. 2, p. 43, fol. 1706.

Wilfred, Archbishop of York, presented to his church a book of the Gospels and a copy of the Bible, written in gold on purple vellum, which he had caused to be executed, and ornamented with covers of gold and gems. In the ninth century this taste for magnificent manuscripts was not diminished; the glory of the empire of Charlemagne gave a strong impulse to all the intellectual pursuits of the age; but which scarcely survived the great man who was the source of such prosperity. Towards the end of his reign, and during those of his immediate successors, a decline in the arts became manifest, and the practice of staining vellum with a purple hue deteriorated among the rest; so that instead of a brilliant violet, deep red, or fine blue, the vellum appeared of a dingy purple tinge.

The manuscript which has furnished the fac-simile in the Plate, is a specimen of this second and debased period of the art of staining purple vellum; being very dark and dull-colored, with an uniformity of tint almost amounting to a fault. Nevertheless, the antiquity and fine graphic execution of the volume, render it of great value.

It is still more highly to be prized from its being written in letters of silver; the initials and headings of chapters alone being in gold. Manuscripts written in silver are still rarer than those in letters of gold, since the latter were used both on white and on purple vellum; whereas silver writing, in order to appear to advantage, required a dark ground, and consequently was only employed on purple vellum, the expense of the preparation of which was considerable. Hence we learn the reason, why manuscripts in silver letters are of far rarer occurrence even than those in gold.

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses several of the former class, among which (*Suppl. Lat.* No. 688,) is the volume from which the fac-simile before us has been copied. This volume contains the Epistles and Gospels for the feasts throughout the year. The text is written in a beautiful

square, upright, massive, nearly continuous, Caroline minuscule, mingled with uncial and Anglo-Saxon letters; the tails cut off diagonally, and the tops of the tall letters truncated transversely; presenting very few abbreviations, but a few of the letters at the ends of the lines are conjoined.

The first word, PAULUS, is in the Anglo-Saxon style, the letters being edged with dots of gold. The initial is a gigantic P, the lower part of which is floreated; the thick strokes ornamented with interlaced work, and the transverse-stroke at the top prolonged into a leaf-like ornament, and surmounted with the letters FRS united to a cross, being the abbreviation of the word *Fratres*. The two other initial letters are in the same style, but much less ornamented. The lines at the commencement* are to be read thus:—

FRS[*Fratres*] PAULUS servus ihū xpī [*Jhesu Christi*], vocatus apostolus, segregatus in evangelium dī [*Dei*], *etc.*

The stops introduced into the text are intended for regulating the reading, rather than for punctuation.

The origin of this manuscript is not known, but the Benedictines (*Nouv. Dipl.*, tom. iii., pp. 122, 196, 351,) have described a volume corresponding perfectly with the volume before us, and if the same†, the volume must have come from the library of the Prince de Soubise.

* *Epist. ad Romanos*, cap. i. v. 1.—ED.

† There can be no doubt, that the volume mentioned by the Benedictines is the same with the one here described.—ED.

PLATE CXXXI.

MINUSCULE CAROLINE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

THE SACRAMENTARIUM OF THE CATHEDRAL OF METZ.

THE words *Sacramentarium*, *Sacramentorium*, or *Liber Sacramentorum*, are employed to designate the work in which Pope Gregory the Great, in his reformation of the service of the Romish Church, collected together all the prayers to be used at the celebration of mass for all the feasts of the year, and at the administration of the sacraments. This liturgical code was circulated by means of numerous copies throughout the churches of the pontifical dominions. Compiled towards the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century, many copies were made contemporary with the original work; these were re-copied from age to age, and some are still in existence which may be attributed to the eighth century, and many more to the ninth, among which is the fine volume which has supplied the accompanying fac-simile.

This manuscript is a small folio volume, nearly square, of beautifully white vellum, written in Roman capitals, rustic capitals, uncial capitals, and Caroline minuscules, in gold and black letters, and enriched with paintings in body-color, which distinguish this volume from all others of the same kind. Its binding is of velvet, ornamented with small ivory bas-reliefs let into the substance of the cover, and surrounded by a frame-work of silver.

Many pages are written consecutively in capitals of gold, containing the principal prayers of the mass. All the titles

are similarly written, and the numerous initial letters are alternately in gold and colors. The fac-simile represents the *recto* of the 68th leaf of the manuscript, being the commencement of the Office of the Epiphany, the title of which is announced in these words: VIII ID[*us*] JANR[*Januarii*] EPHYPHANIA. STATIO AD SCM[*Sanctum*] PETRUM. The prayer following commences thus: DS[*Deus*] QUI HODIERNA DIE unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti, *etc.*

In these lines of the title is exhibited an admirable Roman uncial character, massive, well proportioned, truncated at the summits, and occasionally at the bases; the upright strokes massive, terminating diagonally, and prolonged into an acute superfluous stroke; several Roman capitals are mingled with these uncials, the words are semi-divided, and punctuated at the end of a title.

The gigantic initial D, which follows, is one of the most elegant possible, and of fine proportions. It is a Roman capital letter, ornamented with figures and arabesques. The summit of the upright stroke terminates in a dome, beneath which is seated the Virgin holding the infant Jesus on her knees, and a star conducts the three shepherds with their offerings towards her. In the open space of the letter another star guides three men on horseback, habited in oriental costume, and drawn within the curved stroke of the letter, representing the adoration of the Magi. At the foot of the letter are three armed soldiers, probably the guards of Herod, who is represented sitting at the door of his house. All these figures are painted in body-color, and although of small size are executed with much spirit. The manuscript abounds with designs of a similar kind; there being scarcely a large letter which does not contain one. The S inserted in the middle of the open space, is intended for the last letter of the word DEUS.

The paragraph following commences with a large Roman

capital E; and several lines lower is a sign resembling an ornament rather than a letter, but which is intended for V and D conjoined into an uncial capital letter, and floreated; the straight stroke of the D being traversed by a bar, so as to form a cross. This is the commencement of the Preface of the Mass, and these two conjoined letters are intended as an abridgment of the words *Vere dignum* (*et justum est*), etc. The remainder of the text is written in ordinary Caroline minuscules, examples of which are very numerous. The present specimen is massive and round; the up-strokes and tails straight, and truncated, some obliquely and others diagonally; the *j* resembles *l; g* is slightly Anglo-Saxon in form; *ae* are separate; the words are but slightly divided, but punctuated.

This manuscript was written for the metropolitan church of Metz, and at the end the scribe has given a chronicle, in verse, of all the bishops of that city, followed by a list of their names. Drogo is here named as the last bishop, and his name is written in gold uncials, as was customary with the name of the reigning prince, in similar lists. It has thence been with reason concluded, that the manuscript was executed by order of Drogo, Bishop of Metz, who was consecrated in the year 855, and died in 875; so that the manuscript must be ascribed to the second half of the 9th century*.

* This volume is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, *Suppl. Lat.*, No. 645.—Ed.

PLATE CXXXII.

ROMAN RENOVATED WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

THE POEMS OF HORACE, OFFERED TO ST. BENEDICT.

It is unnecessary here to repeat any notices of Horace and his works; we shall therefore limit our remarks to the peculiarities of the manuscript which has supplied the present fac-simile, and to the explanation of a singular usage, of which it contains a remarkable instance.

The volume is of a square quarto form, written upon thick vellum, in long lines, nineteen in a page. The horizontal lines are drawn with a style, and two parallel perpendicular lines are repeated on each margin, so as to determine the width of the page, and leave a wide space beyond. There are no spaces left between the *alineæ*, nor even between the separate pieces in the volume. The body of the text is written in minuscule letters, but the general title of the volume, the title of the first ode, and the first verse, with the first letter of each line, are in Roman rustic capitals, mingled with uncials; the A and M partaking indiscriminately of either form, and the Y being usually dotted. A very large minuscule letter is usually employed for the titles of the several pieces. The words are, in general, divided; the abbreviations few in number, and the sense is regulated by a point placed after the different paragraphs of the text. Scholia and notes, in a very small Caroline minuscule hand, fill up the margins, and are interlined in nearly all the pages.

These details suffice to place the present manuscript

among the number of the most ancient copies containing the works of Horace, at least of those preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris; and it cannot be assigned to a later period than the tenth century*. More ancient manuscripts of this writer are, however, traditionally known.

The present volume is remarkable on one account. In the upper margin, above the commencement of the Ode to Mæcenas, are two rubricated lines in Latin, of which the first is in rustic capitals, and the second in minuscules. Along the inner margin of the same page is a third Latin line, written vertically, also in rustic capitals; and a fourth line of the same kind occurs at the foot of the page. These lines are to be read thus:—

HIC LIBER EST, BENEDICTE, TUUS, VENERANDE, PER AEVUM;
OBTULIT HERBERTUS, SERVUS ET IPSE TUUS.
QUEM TIBI, SCE PATER, TALI PRO MUNERE POSCENS,
LIBER, UT ETERNAM POSSIDEAT PATRIAM.

We have here an instance of the custom of offering manuscripts, amongst other gifts, presented by Christian piety to God and the Church†. The volume thus consecrated was placed upon the altar of the patron saint, or founder of the order, when the gift was made to an abbey. The offering even of profane authors was by no means rejected, and it is especially worthy of notice, that in the records of such donations which have been traditionally preserved, the poems of Horace are twice mentioned. It is known that in the tenth century, the Abbot of Altona consecrated the works of this Latin poet to St. Stephen, and was represented at the commencement of the manuscript performing this act of devotion. The four verses above transcribed announce a

* See the *Paléographie des Classiques Latins.* Par M. A. Champollion, 1839, p. 39 *sq.*—Ed.

† *Hist. Litt. de la France,* tom. vi., pp. 6, 633.—Ed.

similar donation to St. Benedict by Herbert, who is known in ecclesiastical annals as a monk of Fleury, or St. Benoît-sur-Loire, and who subsequently became Abbot of Lagny, and restorer of that monastery, which had been devastated by the Normans. He was distinguished by his profound knowledge, both of sacred and profane literature, and died in the year 992; having during his life-time deposited on the altar of the Abbey of Fleury a manuscript of Horace consecrated to St. Benedict. No doubt therefore can exist that the manuscript before us, now in the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 7971), is the identical volume which is thus recorded to have been offered by Herbert to St. Benedict.

This volume has the arms of Charles IX., composed of the shield of France and the cypher formed of CC interlaced, impressed in gold on the covers, which also exhibit traces of various other ornaments, now effaced.

PLATE CXXXIII.

ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING.

XTH CENTURY.

THE MORALS ON JOB, BY POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, BELONGING TO THE MONASTERY OF LA CAVA, NAPLES.

THE Plate which is the subject of the present notice will serve to remove the doubts elsewhere expressed as to the exactness of the description of the manuscript in which it is contained, inserted in a Letter published at Naples in 1822*.

* *Lettera dell' Abate de Rozan, su de' libri et msc. preziosi della Biblioteca di Cava* Napoli, Orsino, 1822, 4to., pp. 110—188.

The author of this Letter states that, the vellum manuscript containing the *Morals on Job*, by Pope Gregory the Great, is written in three different hands, which divides it into three portions; the first part, in a rather thick Roman minuscule; the second, in a more elegant Roman minuscule; and the third, in broken Roman minuscule. The Letter adds, that the work is followed by a treatise of St. Jerome, in broken Lombardic characters. Now the fragment of the Morals of Pope Gregory, which is the subject of one of the Plates with this title*, is, in fact, in broken Lombardic, whereas the Letter states this text to be in Roman minuscule. The specimen in the present Plate is, indeed, written in that hand; so that it is evident that the work of St. Gregory in this manuscript of La Cava is written partly in Roman minuscule and partly in broken Lombardic characters, of each of which a fac-simile is given. The colossal initial letter of the Lombardic portion of the text is similar to that contained in the present specimen; and this similarity in the two capital letters, ornamented with branching interlaced arabesques, which intersect the whole body of the letter, employed both with Roman minuscule and broken Lombardic writing, sufficiently demonstrates that these large letters are the work of a miniator rather than of a scribe; and even if admitted to be the productions of the same hand, the formal style of these ornamental letters is but of small value in determining the age of a manuscript†.

The first three lines of the fac-simile and the other short lines in the middle of the text, written in vermilion, are fine specimens of the ordinary Caroline capitals; elegant in form, tall, close, narrow, well-proportioned, and truncated, with the

* See Plate CXLVIII. of the present work.—ED.

† This opinion may be justly called in question, for the various styles of these large ornamental initial letters during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, serve peculiarly and distinctly to point out the period at which a volume has been executed.—ED.

ends of the strokes dilated, and slender in the middle; the letters occasionally introduced within one another, or pearled; and with a mixture of uncials. It is to be read:—

IN NOE [*nomine*] DNI [*Domini*] INCIPIT PARS QUARTA. LIBER XVII. A LOCO UBI DICIT, N[*on*] SIT IN RECORDATIONE, SED CONTERATUR QUASI LIGNUM INFRUCTUOSUM;

the latter words being written in small ordinary Caroline capitals, mingled with two or three uncials.

The remainder of the fac-simile contains the Commentary of St. Gregory on the above text. It is to be read:—

QUOTIES IN SCI [*sancti*] VIRI historia per novu[*m*] volumen enodare mysteriu[*m*] typice expositionis aggredimur, oportet ut ex ejusde[*m*] viri v[*e*]l nomine v[*e*]l passione, significatione[*m*] mystica[*m*] principalit[*er*] p[*ro*]feramus, *etc.*

Notwithstanding the mysticism apparent in this work of Pope Gregory, or rather on this very account, it has been translated into French, under the title, "*Les Morales de Saint Grégoire, Pape, sur le Livre de Job,*" by De Laval, Paris, 1666, in 3 vols., 4to. An abridgment of this translation was published in 1697, intitled "*Morale Pratique de Saint Grégoire,*" Paris, 2 vols., 12mo. The name of De Laval is pseudonymous, the real translator of the work being Louis Charles Albert, Duc de Luynes, who, after much military service, devoted himself to piety, composed a considerable number of ascetical works, and died in 1690.

The Latin text of the *Morals on Job* is printed in the Benedictine edition of the Works of St. Gregory. It is probable, that the manuscript of La Cava was not unknown to them.

PLATE CXXXIV.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

THE LATIN BIBLE OF THE MARÉCHAL DE NOAILLES.

At the period of the commencement of the second race of the Frankish monarchs, the Latin characters which had been generally used in France during the preceding dynasty, and thence called *Merovingian*, were gradually replaced by others, more analogous to the ancient types, named *Caroline*, or *renovated minuscule*, characters.

History has preserved undoubted evidence of the influence exercised by the genius of Charlemagne in effecting this reformation, notwithstanding the efforts made by various learned Italians to deny that the restoration of the ancient Roman characters was effected in France, and thence transmitted to Italy. On the other hand, the Marquis Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, p. 377) asserts, that the French borrowed this renovated minuscule from Italy, the first specimens of which might have been furnished them by the manuscripts sent by Pope Paul I. to Pepin, the father of Charlemagne; moreover, observes the same author (*Opusc. Eccles.*, p. 60), Charlemagne carried the Gallican writing from Rome into France.

An impartial consideration of the facts connected with the subject will alone determine this question of national pretensions. It is certain, that there exist manuscripts written in France, as well as in Italy, in Roman minuscule characters, *anterior* to the time of Charlemagne; and it is not less certain, that in the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne the Lombardic character was usually employed in Italy; in the ninth century, the Latin minus-

cule, renovated in France, came into general use in England, Germany, and other countries, (where it was called *Gallican*,) and even at Rome, as is proved by the Bible of the monastery of St. Paul*, written during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and various other volumes in the Vatican library executed in Italy, written in the beautiful Caroline character. From these facts is derived the judgment pronounced by Mabillon, that Charlemagne was not the *inventor* of the renovated minuscule character, but that the reformation introduced by the general use of the small renovated Roman minuscule is to be attributed to that prince, after whom it was termed *Caroline* writing. The example set by France in this respect was followed by every other nation subject to the Latin rule.

Subsequent to the eighth century, the Caroline writing became very common among the French scribes; it is, indeed, true, that at first it was somewhat intermingled with the Merovingian forms, but it became more regular and fixed during the reign of Charlemagne, and arrived at its highest state of elegance and perfection under his successors, in proportion as it lost all traces of the Merovingian style. We may hence deduce the palæographic axiom, that the age of a manuscript, written in Caroline minuscules, is in inverse proportion to the perfection of this kind of writing which it exhibits.

Applied to the manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile, this rule does not admit an earlier date to be assigned to it than the tenth century. The small Roman writing is exhibited in it in perfection, without any mixture, and in two sizes. It contains the entire Latin Bible, written on vellum, with two columns in a page, and is ornamented with a great number of outline drawings, some of which are

* No proof at all, since there is every reason to believe that the Bible of St. Paul's monastery was executed in France. See some account of this Bible in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for October, 1836, vol. ii., p. 581.—Ed.

colored*. The initial D is a very fine, large Franco-gallic capital, the upright portion of which is embroidered, with its extremities knotted, and terminating in heads of animals, united by an interlaced pattern; the curved part of the letter is also embroidered and knotted. The detached letters B and S are in the same style. The D is the first letter of the words, DESIDERII MEI DESIDERATAS *accepi ep[isto]las;* the letters ESIDE being alternately red† and black, the first being an uncial, and the others Roman capitals. The line following is in small rustic narrow capitals, alternately black and red; the transverse strokes being circumflexed, whilst the middle bar of the A is omitted.

The subjects figured in the Plate are accompanied by legends in a small, detached, round, and well-proportioned Caroline hand. The first legend is to be read, "*Ubi Dns* [*Dominus*] *plasmat Adam.*" Here the Lord forms Adam. The other figures are also taken from the first chapters of the Old Testament.

A Bull of Pope Innocent II., of the year 1130, inserted in the third volume of this Bible, confirming the privileges of the monastery of St. Peter *de Rodis*, would lead us to infer that this manuscript formerly belonged to the Abbey of San Pedro de Rosas, in the ancient territory of the Ampurdan, in Catalonia. It passed from the library of the Maréchal de Noailles into the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. (*Fond Latin*, No. 6.)

* From a comparison of these drawings with those in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, particularly in the Cædmon (*Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.), it would appear probable, that this volume is the work of an Anglo-Saxon artist and scribe, and, consequently, out of place here.—ED.

† In the French text they are, erroneously, said to be *white* and black. —ED.

END OF VOL. I.

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